THE Nation

August 27, 1955
20c

The Soviet Thaw

TACTICS OR POLICY?

By Kingsley Martin

Monsignor and Madam

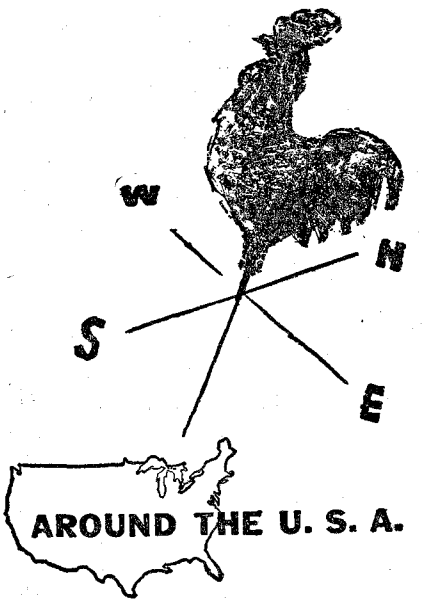
THE NEW PAPERBACKS

By Alex Rider

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Charles C. Parrish Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
AUG 31

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The "Troublemakers"

Fargo, North Dakota

"WELL, they are all educated men. Surely they can find a good job elsewhere," said a Fargo housewife late last month after the state Board of Higher Education had voted to fire four faculty members who had waged a year-long fight with the president of North Dakota Agricultural College.

The four, Drs Daniel Posin, Baldur Kristjanson, Cecil Haver, and William Treumann, had dared criticize certain administrative decisions at the college. Posin was head of the physics department, Treumann an assistant professor of chemistry, Haver and Kristjanson associate professors of agricultural economics.

Last January, the board of education, following the advice of President Fred S. Hultz, suspended the four with pay, pending outcome of a public hearing before a thirteen-member advisory committee of deans and department heads. It was clear at the time that they were going to be fired, since they had already been asked to resign. The hearing apparently was only window dressing. But it was held, and to students and others attending, it presented an unbelievable spectacle. In unforgettably comic phrases. Hultz solemnly recited reasons for the dismissals.

One assertion that furnished newspaper headlines for several days was the charge that three of the four educators had "heckled" the president and had "sneered, scowled, and snarled" at him in the college council. There were other charges, both in testimony by hosts of witnesses trotted up by the Hultz forces and in a seven-page "indictment" filed by the president in accordance with the quasi-judicial procedure adopted at the hearing.

What they boiled down to was that these men—all respected educators and hardly of rabble-rousing temperament—had dared to challenge the actions of the president. That they had the right to challenge is set down in the college constitution which says the college council shall confer with the president in setting up academic programs. But according to Hultz, they adopted a "course of conduct deliberately intended to interfere with, undermine, frustrate, and render ineffective" his administration.

Most vociferous in reply was Posin, a wartime radar specialist and a man dedicated to bringing an understanding of science to the people. Posin accused Hultz of a gross violation of academic freedom. He said Hultz pandered to a palace guard of faculty supporters while displaying pique and vindictiveness toward "unfriendly" professors. He claimed that threats were issued against the faculty and that Hultz had told some professors they would never get a raise unless they "had something" on him. Posin also reported that Hultz resisted installation of a course in Russian history at the college because he feared the legislature would not like it.

THE hearing grew from some two years of parliamentary battles and heated arguments at faculty-administration meetings. According to the professors and other witnesses, Hultz regularly delivered vitriolic speeches at these affairs, including one naming Posin, Kristjanson, Treumann, and others as "troublemakers."

Time and again the arguments centered about the geology department, set up as a major curriculum on an experimental basis but then reduced to a service course by the Board of Education. Hultz attempted to do away with the department completely, along with the jobs of two teachers. Insistent questions on this led to the "troublemakers" accusation. The arguments spread to meetings of the college chapter of the American Association of University Professors. There Haver introduced, unsuccessfully, a resolution calling for Hultz's resignation because of his "public censure" of the faculty members. A substitute measure was passed, asking for an investigation of academic freedom and tenure, with emphasis on use of intimidation.

THE suspension last January came after the board had read a still-secret transcript of an "impartial hearing" hastily arranged after the A. A. U. P. call for an investigation. The professors pleaded their own cases before the lawyer retained to run the hearing. Most of the witnesses were businessmen, students, and state legislators, with observers, many of whom wondered if the administration had not done some hasty recruiting.

The public hearing demanded by the four was held in May. It lasted ten days and testimony covered 1,300 pages. The committee's decision for firing was by a large majority, ranging from 12-1 to 9-4 for different individuals.

The board reviewed the decision and upheld it by a 5-2 vote. A woman attorney and an implement dealer were the ones who voted in opposition. They also supported a move to fire Hultz and reinstate the four. In a statement later, the woman attorney declared the action made a mockery of the college constitution which now says faculty members with tenure can be dismissed "for sufficient cause." The number of "causes" now apparently includes "heckling."

What does it mean to the college? Possibly only the loss of four highly intelligent teachers and cold stares between opposing factions on the campus. It may be that future appointees to the staff will consider the academic climate too cool for their presence.

To the four it means a probable court battle as they seek to prove to a dubious public their reputations have been unjustly besmirched. Only Haver has moved elsewhere. He is at the University of Chicago on a temporary research grant. A possible "moral victory" may come if the A. A. U. P. national office decides to investigate and censure the school.

GERALD D. NELSON.

[*Gerald D. Nelson is a free-lance writer.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 9

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The McCarthy Era

IS THE McCarthy era at an end? Were "the darkest days of the demagogues" those in 1953-54 and does 1955 mark a turning point? Speaking at the Americans for Democratic Action Summer Workshop, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., A. D. A.'s able and energetic national chairman, while conceding that we still have "a long, long way to go," gave confident assurance that "the McCarthy era is over." To Mr. Rauh, 1955 is "the year the tide turned back toward civil liberties." In the Manchester Guardian, Max Freedman, our former Washington correspondent, reports that "the hatreds symbolized by Senator McCarthy are as remote from the central purposes of Washington now as are the hopes of Senator Lehman. The ugly deal is as dead as the New Deal."

Messrs. Rauh and Freedman may well be right; there is no dearth of evidence to support their cheerful pronouncements. After setting up a bipartisan investigation of the loyalty-security program, Congress adjourned without enacting any new repressive legislation. In two states which have shown a high degree of susceptibility to demagogic incitements, Florida and California, the legislatures this year exhibited remarkable restraint. Court decisions in the Lattimore, Bridges, Peters, Lamont, Sheiner, and similar cases have slowed down the forward movement of the witch hunt. A series of decisions have restored, to some degree, the freedom of American citizens to travel abroad. The government's security program and its adaptation by the army have been sharply criticized in excellent reports by Adam Yarmolinsky and Roland Watts.

But conceding all this, one may still entertain sizable doubts that the ugly deal is really at an end. The most obvious but by no means the only cause for caution relates to the motivation behind the movement to contain McCarthyism. Without doubt the motivation has been complex; many factors have combined to produce the eclipse, partial or permanent, of McCarthy. But Doris Fleeson touched on a major aspect of the matter when she reported, some weeks back, that "the responsible men in Congress" had been finally forced to realize that the McCarthy uproar and the reaction against it, which had reached even the courts, threatened "to bury the real problem." In other words, the reaction against McCarthyism threatened the whole loyalty-security apparatus; or, stated another way, it had become necessary to curtail McCarthyism in order to save its principal product.

There is much to support this view. For example, it is clear that the institutional supports of the witch hunt are still in place and unimpaired. None of the legislation on which it is based has been declared invalid. The inquisitorial committees have neither reformed their procedures nor restricted their objectives, as the recent hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee in New York have demonstrated. The Smith Act prosecutions continue. The "lists" are still used, cited, and approved, and the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia has upheld a district-court decision denying an injunction to the National Lawyers Guild which had sought to test the Attorney General's power to promulgate lists of "subversive" organizations. The test oath is almost universally accepted as vital to our security. Ralph Brown of the Yale Law School believes that one-fifth of all employment is now subject to some kind of loyalty screening; the number of Americans who have executed a test oath of some kind is set at 12,600,000. If McCarthyism is at an end, therefore, it is only in the sense that loyalty screening and the policing of political activities and associations by agencies of the federal government is so much taken for granted nowadays that we fail to note the loss or curtailment of formerly well established rights and privileges.

Nevertheless the outlook has improved sufficiently in the last year to support the belief that a full restoration of civil liberties might be achieved, provided the present lull in the witch hunt is not mistaken for its demise. Mr. Rauh suggests two important immediate goals: restricting the loyalty-security program to a limited number of truly sensitive positions and returning the Congressional investigations to their proper role of obtaining information for valid legislative pur-

Notice to Readers

Due to the continued strike at the American News Company, which handles newsstand distribution, *The Nation* will not appear on stands in New York City, Elizabeth, Newark, Paterson, and other Jersey communities, and Westchester County. Distribution will be restored as soon as possible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The McCarthy Era 165

ARTICLES

Power for All:
The Meaning of Geneva
by Christopher Arnold 167

The Soviet Thaw:
Tactics or Policy?
by Kingsley Martin 169

The Narrowing Gap:
Arms Cut in Order
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 172

Louisiana's Good Strike:
Unity vs. Injunctions
by Alfred Maund 174

Monsignor and Madam:
The World of Paperbacks
by Alex Rider 176

BOOKS

The Necessity of Love
by Carlos Baker 178

An American Tragedy
by Carey McWilliams 179

Current Books in Soft Covers
by Alex Rider 180

The Shape of Death (a poem)
by May Swenson 181

THEATER by Harold Clurman 182

RECORD NOTES
by Robert E. Garis 183

LETTERS 184

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 634
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 184

AROUND THE U. S. A.
The "Troublemakers"
by Gerald D. Nelson opposite 165

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B H Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K Smith, Carolus Keith Hutchison, H H Wilson, W Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, August 27, 1955, Volume 181, No. 9

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879 Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office, 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

poses. These are high-priority objectives, but the list should be expanded. Recently seventy-three Americans, most of them long known for their devotion to civil liberties, urged the President to take a second look at the whole question of Smith Act prosecutions in view of "the easing of tensions in other fields." If it was proper to cite the Berlin air-lift and the *putsch* in Czechoslovakia as acts which made necessary a redefinition of the clear-and-present-danger doctrine, then the same logic would call for a modification of emergency measures and decrees once the risks had diminished. To indict individuals under the so-called membership clause of the Smith Act, as in the case of Claude Lightfoot, is a dangerous departure from constitutional practice which should be promptly reversed.

Repeal of some of the repressive legislation of the last decade, of which the Communist Control Act of 1954 might be cited as one of the worst examples, should be part of any general action program. Such a category of objectives might also include an investigation of the Department of Justice under Mr. Brownell, with particular reference to the use of so-called "confidential" reports of the F. B. I.; setting aside the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, and calling a halt to further proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Some means, too, must be found to prevent the blacklisting of persons who have been guilty of no offense other than the invocation of rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

More than a program, what is immediately needed is agreement among interested groups on the necessity of making civil liberties a factor in the 1956 campaign. If past experience is any guide, both parties will attempt to duck the whole question. Not only the parties but individual candidates should be asked to take a position on key civil-liberties issues. Opportunities for political action of this type are steadily improving. Current attacks against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its members in the South are based on methods and procedures devised by the witchhunters; any legal action taken against test oaths used by Southern states to determine who is or once was a member of the organization will have a relevance to the fight against test oaths generally. In much the same fashion, the labor movement can hardly attack the validity of state "right-to-work" laws without supporting civil-liberties groups that are attacking state sedition statutes; the Constitutional issues in both cases are virtually the same.

It may be possible to end the dichotomy which has kept civil-rights and civil-liberties issues in separate political compartments since 1947. By next year, the number of organizations willing to support an effort to inject selected civil-liberties issues into the Presidential campaign should be much larger than at any time since the postwar witch hunt was launched.

If these new opportunities are fully exploited, but only if they are, then 1955 may well mark the year in which "the tide turned back toward civil liberties."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POWER FOR ALL

The Meaning of Geneva . . . *by Christopher Arnold*

Geneva

AMONG this city's uninterrupted series of international conferences, the atoms-for-peace gathering undoubtedly provided the most unusual experience to both participants and journalists. From the beginning, a sense of human destiny in the making, and a satisfaction over man's achievements pervaded the conference. In his presidential address, Dr. Bhabha set the tone, providing a masterly reinterpretation of mankind's history in terms of its capacity to produce energy. In an almost Promethean manner the Indian physicist predicted that within two decades man's power problems will forever be solved, since he will succeed in liberating fusion energy in a controlled manner and thus tame the H-bomb.

As was expected, the papers presented have shown a great parallelism of research and results among the most advanced countries. It was a striking proof that the "international" of the scientists had been in existence throughout all the years of working in seclusion. Espionage had nothing to do with it. In an unequivocal statement to the press, a leading American physicist excluded spying as the explanation for the amazing similarity of nuclear measurements between America and Russia. After this conference Russian achievements can no longer be credited to American traitors or deported German scientists. On the other side, the various "Russia-invented-it-first" myths can hardly be revived for some time to come. The "decadent" West's achievements could not but impress the 150 Russians present.

A factual tone prevailed throughout the discussions. Nobody was out to score points. The published results are supposed to speak for themselves. The Russians expressed freely their admiration for the American test explosion of a boiling-water reactor and admitted that they never had dared to do that. Equally freely they expressed criticism and skepticism, as when they doubted the claim by Mr. Zinn, director of the Argonne National Laboratory, that the boiling-water reactor can be developed for huge kilowatt output. The British aligned themselves with the Russians on that point, and there was no talk of disruption of alliances.

The reality of continued political division appeared only on the sidelines. In their exhibition the Soviets put up a guest book soliciting visitors' opinions. A Viennese doctor wrote in it: "I am an anti-Communist, but I am for coexistence." Somebody else inquired whether state slaves were still used in uranium mines. The absence of Red Chinese delegates was widely regretted, and the presidential address gave expression to that feeling. The absence of Oppenheimer, Condon, Pauling, and Urey seemed to underscore the fact that Communist-approved Soviet delegates were less objectionable than domestic nonconformists. Two eminent West Germans paid tribute to Irene Joliot-Curie's work; she and her husband —the chairman of the World Peace Council—were not included in the French delegation. Pontecorvo was lauded by a Russian in the course of a strictly scientific discussion as the man who had developed a particular equation.

PUBLIC interest centered not only on the Soviet-Western relationship, but also on the British-American competition for the markets for the new products of nuclear development. Behind the scientists loomed the business men. It is significant that the first scientific international atomic conference coincided with the first international atomic trade fair. The fair is being held in the hall that houses Geneva's annual international automobile exhibition and where hardly six weeks ago Billy Graham preached to 25,000 people. The United States and Britain occupy more than two thirds of the area. The Soviet Union is not represented, a fact attributed to the priority it must give to the development of the countries allied with it.

The British surpass the United States in the variety of products displayed. Isotopes for agriculture, industry, and medicine, electronic equipment, control instruments, special metals, and even a "complete atomic power station under a single contract" can be ordered. Pounds of documentation are distributed. The American exhibition makes effective use of Ike's reassuring smile, of Einstein's moral and scientific prestige, and even of aptly chosen biblical citations.

However, to determine the actual market potential for nuclear power, one could get more information from the conference sessions devoted to the energy requirements of the future and to the economics of nuclear power. There the well known fact that the rate of increase of energy consumption will bring about exhaustion of the traditional energy resources within a century, was examined in considerable detail. For some countries the need of nuclear power will make itself felt sooner than for others. Numerous governments discussed their countries' situation in this respect in reports submitted to the conference. Such surveys are necessary preliminaries to buying power reactors. Also, many countries will have first to decide whether they want to purchase a reactor, construct one under license, or design and build their own. Finally a choice has to be made among the twenty different types of reactor systems tried out in the world.

The two exhibitions in Geneva provide prospective customers with their first opportunity to make useful and indispensable comparisons.

CHRISTOPHER ARNOLD is a free-lance journalist who is now living in Switzerland.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Countries poor in raw material, for example, will tend to wait till the breeding reactor is available commercially. Most countries will want to see an industrial reactor in operation before buying one for themselves. The papers presented indicate that the initial cost is likely to come down. Improvements are sure to be made. While British and American business men proclaim loudly that they are ready to take orders immediately, leading British and Indian scientists estimate it may be anywhere between two and five years before customers are prepared to buy.

The atomic trade fair aims, therefore, essentially at long-term advertising, in the field of power reactors at least. The two chief competitors, United States and United Kingdom, contend for international recognition of their respective leadership. While it is agreed that America's private and public capital resources have permitted it to work on a wider variety of reactors, the British are closer to completion of full-scale atomic power stations. By concentrating on fewer types, they have worked them out more thoroughly. Also the weapons' program has handicapped their effort to a lesser extent. Britain will be the first country in which a substantial portion of the electrical power requirements (40 per cent by 1975) will originate from nuclear fission. In the development of the breeding reactor Britain seems to be leading the United States.

HOWEVER, good cooperation in the United States between industry and government has offset, psychologically at least, any initial British advantage. The American offer to sell research reactors at half price has not been matched by Britain. Then, on the first day of the conference, Admiral Strauss announced that the United States was ready to sell heavy water at a price probably below the cost of production, and only one third the price of Norwegian heavy water, hitherto the only kind available on the market. The United States also offered to sell natural uranium and to lease uranium enriched to 20 per cent for use in research reactors. These announcements give the impression that only the United States provides a way around the heavy handicap to peacetime power development resulting from the absence of a free market in the necessary fuel. In British circles it is feared that the competitive advantage of the United States will increase when its growing plutonium reserves, hitherto stockpiled on account of their high military value, are offered at bargain prices to coun-

tries buying plants from American manufacturers. But by that time the development of sources of uranium and thorium within the Commonwealth may reestablish a certain balance. Many other countries also found consolation in a report by J. C. Johnson, director of the United States Atomic Energy Commission's Division of Raw Materials, which declared that commercially workable deposits are now known to be widespread with quantities adequate for a long-term world nuclear-power program.

The implications of nuclear energy for the underdeveloped areas were well set forth in the paper of E. S. de Breuvery, a Jesuit father in charge of the research section of the U. N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. He emphasized that small-scale power reactors producing between 500 and 3,000 kilowatts are likely to be rewarding both economically and socially.

Small package reactors could be shipped by air and would not require the elaborate transportation facilities needed for traditional power stations. The technical feasibility of small reactors is no longer in question; one such reactor has already been put to use in a submarine. But it would seem that the leading atomic nations are trying to develop ever bigger stations and that not enough thought is being given to the economic aspects of eventual mass production of small package reactors. To work along this line business would probably want to be sure that the underdeveloped countries could pay for it, and therefore the question naturally arose in the discussion as to whether international public funds could be used to reduce interest rates on nuclear power-plant costs.

The predominance of the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the Commonwealth in the nuclear-power race raises among smaller nations the question whether they will ever be able to catch up. Western Europe is a case in point. Except for some French achievements, these countries are in a comparatively early stage of nuclear development. Before the conference these were also countries where public interest was the least active. Yet, this is rapidly changing. The public is becoming more and more aware that a nuclear-development program requires funds of a magnitude unmatched in any previous phase of the industrial revolution. They can hardly be mobilized within a single country. The setting up of "nuclear-power groups" uniting various firms contributing to the building of an atomic power station, as in the United States and the United Kingdom, would also require, in Western Europe, closer cooperation across the borders.

THE "Six" of the European Coal and Steel Community, which were quite surprisingly joined by Britain, are working hard in Brussels to provide the political and economic conditions for at least a partly joint European nuclear program.

However, this necessary integration is likely to meet resistance in countries which for a number of reasons do not want to give up privileged situations, either with respect to the supply of raw material or to the relatively advanced status of their research. Such is the case in some French circles with respect to Germany. Germany is at the tail-end of the nuclear race because of restrictions imposed by the occupying powers and Mr. Adenauer's preference for preparing an army rather than a nuclear industry. German eagerness for close European integration in this field is thus understandable; as is—in a short-range perspective—the desire of other countries to have an edge on the Germans at least in one field.

Whatever form intra-European atomic cooperation may take, many participants in the conference agree

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the costly installations required for fuel-element fabrication, for isotope separation (in order to get enriched uranium), and for fuel reprocessing (in the case of the use of natural uranium) must be established on a common European basis. The same is true for certain types of research reactors such as the material-testing plant. Anything else would mean a costly duplication of effort. The next ten years, it was said in the conference *couloirs*, will bring new recruits to the "European idea"—business men and scientists and those who want Europe to hold an intermediary but strong position between the United States and Russia.

In conclusion, it is clear that the conference has been a highly successful example of what "competitive coexistence" can yield to the peoples of the world. It provoked a chain reaction of declassification among the major powers. Every country wanted to show that it was ahead. While scientists envisage the future confidently and progressively lose the feeling of being mere sorcerer's apprentices, an Anglican bishop celebrates a special service in Calvin's cathedral and recalls that atomic energy is not a magical medicine for man's ills and that the church must study its social and moral consequences. And the city's Communist paper grinds its own ax, proclaiming that technical progress does not of itself change the human condition or suppress man's exploitation by man.

THE SOVIET THAW

Tactics or Policy? . . *by Kingsley Martin*

London

SINCE I came back from Moscow, I am constantly asked if the "thaw"—to use the symbolic title of Ehrenburg's controversial novel—represents a tactical or a real change in Soviet policy. After all, there have been other shifts and switches in the Kremlin's attitude to the West. Is this, for instance, essentially different from that temporary friendliness which broke out when we were all fighting Hitler? Will Western Socialists again suddenly become fascist beasts and will there be another purge of those who now talk very much as Litvinov and other Soviet "Westerners" did in the thirties?

No one in his senses would say dogmatically that Moscow may not again reverse its policy if the new line produces no dividends. An exchange of visits between Premiers does not mean that Communists no longer believe in the basic hostility of capitalism, or that they come to doubt Lenin's assurance of an ultimate clash. But all I have seen recently in Moscow, and all the conversations I have had with prominent writers and politicians have made me hope that the inevitable conflict has now become a matter of theory instead of an event that anyone expects to see in his own lifetime. Certainly now no one in Russia immediately expects the great American slump, so long and confidently prophesied; and even Molotov's remark that "all roads lead to communism" must seem dubious when thermonuclear weapons take the place of massed proletarian armies. Russia, I'm sure, now believes that, for a long time to come, their right policy is to work for a peaceful coexistence in which they can consolidate the vast area under Communist control, and prove that communism brings more prosperity than capitalism.

THIS external change is rooted in something more than a temporary "liberalization." The switch began with the death of Stalin which occurred, providentially—so much so that one American observer believes he was murdered—when his long reign of terror culminated in the fantastic charge against the twelve doctors. Malenkov (whom I met in Moscow at a party the other day, apparently entirely at his ease with Bulganin, Molotov, and other ministers) immediately reversed the policy of fear and war preparation. Even though he himself had to retire when his colleagues believed that he had gone to dangerous lengths in switching from the concentration on capital goods to an increase in consumers' goods, it was a sign of the new spirit in Russia that he was merely given another post and not accused of treachery and sabotage. The first thing I noticed was that his pictures remain on the walls, in many cases, side by side with Stalin's.

The second great improvement is that there is no effort to replace one dictator by another. Russia has something like a cabinet system, and the Cabinet is responsible to the Communist Party. Beria was got rid of because—so they say, and I see no reason for disbelieving them—he hoped, by his control of the Interior and of the security police, to seize power for himself. The result of his execution is that, for the first time, the political police no longer form a state within a state. Communists will freely tell you that they will never again allow a personal dictatorship; that the political police are controlled like other departments of state by a committee with a functionary as chairman.

THIS does not mean that Russia is a democracy in the Western sense, that there is *habeas corpus*, that people accused of political offenses can be sure of a fair trial, or that political prisoners now undergoing forced labor in the mines and timber camps will suddenly be released. But it does mean that such changes are at least conceivable. There are, in fact, some signs of a new respect for individual liberty. It is still a matter of speculation whether the recent release of 184 Austrian prisoners when the treaty was made with

KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the English publication New Statesman and Nation, *recently returned from a trip to the Soviet Union.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vienna was an isolated act of grace or whether it is true that a lengthy process has now begun by which foreign prisoners of war are being sorted out for subsequent liberation.

A vivid picture of the change was given me by an astute and experienced observer. He mentioned by name well-known Russians who had recently been released from jail in Moscow. They had probably been chosen for arrest because they had Western affiliations. That would make it possible for the police to pretend that they were spies. The usual procedure was to tell such victims that their nefarious activities were already known; they would be leniently treated if they confessed. If they were cowardly they would mention the names of "accomplices" and then, having served their dirty purpose, would be sent to Siberia; if they were brave, they might long be held in Moscow. The object of the exercise, my friend said, was to keep alive the belief that only by the activity of the secret police is the country saved from the spies and saboteurs who beset it. Apparently, since the execution of Beria, the liquidators have been thinned out and shorn of much of their power. One informant told me that he knew of large country houses which were used by the security police; they served, he said, as centers from which the countryside was "terrorized." Today the houses are in some cases comfortable "motels" (as Americans would call them), where you can enjoy your stay in an atmosphere of tranquility. One could hardly discover, I thought, a more eloquent example of deliverance from evil.

TO HEAR such things from Communists in Russia itself was a remarkable experience. It was also encouraging to be told that many Soviet Communists have done what they could privately to work against this system. It might have made a difference if some of their comrades abroad had been willing to speak the truth and not to pretend to believe the official nonsense that has been constantly defended by Communist parties the world over. Today the pretenses are threadbare. It is not so much that a play like Korneichuk's "The Wings," recently to be seen in Moscow, openly attacks the political police and demands law and justice. Far more significant is the statement, made to me privately, that such restitution as is possible is to be made to the relatives of some of the innocent victims of the purges.

I cannot help regarding my own visit to Moscow as a surprising sign of change. I was last there twenty-three years ago in the heyday of "Intourism," before the facts about the *kulak* tragedy were known, before Hitler, before the murder of Kirov, before the Spanish war or the great Communist purges. Since then I have only once made inquiries —some three years ago—about the possibility of going to Russia or sending a correspondent. I was abruptly told at the Soviet Embassy in London that the politics of the *New Statesman and Nation* would make any of its representatives decidedly unwelcome. By way of contrast, two months ago I was sought out by a prominent Soviet journalist who suggested, when I had delivered myself of a long denunciation of Soviet policy, that I ought to make these criticisms in Moscow. I was well aware that this suggestion was part of the new party line, and I asked if I should really be given a chance to state my views in Moscow. When I was reassured on this point I felt that the challenge could not be neglected. It was surely significant that instead of being some sort of dangerous reptile, as I was after I criticized the Wroclaw conference in 1948, I was now regarded as the sort of person whom it was worth while for the newspaper *Trud* and the Soviet Writers Union to ask as a guest to Moscow.

The Russians were as good as their word. When I talked to Soviet writers and others about the way in which they had alienated Western Socialists, when I gave examples of friends in the Popular Front during the Spanish war or during the liberation movements in the fight against Hitler who had been murdered in the Soviet satellite states, I was not fobbed off with the traditional reply about the treatment of Negroes in America or about British imperialism in Kenya or Malaya. It may have been tactics that prevented my Soviet hosts showing signs of resentment, but if so, they went far beyond the demands of courtesy. They argued with me about the welfare state, but did not seem to think I was lying when I gave them facts and figures on the improvement in working-class conditions in the West which contradicted the propaganda of the *Daily Worker* and of *Pravda*, and more than one Communist explained to me that the party itself was immeasurably relieved by the new atmosphere of freedom. They did not say—at least not openly—that socialism in the West might be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it is now official doctrine that countries must arrive at socialism by paths suited to their own conditions, and my hosts were ready enough to grant that the exploited proletariat in Western countries is now to be found primarily in the colonies.

THE truth is that the area of discussion is now widened in the U. S. S. R. Certainly, my hosts said emphatically, no book attempting to show that capitalism is better than communism could possibly be published in Soviet Russia. On the other hand, books and newspapers defending God are in fact published. The anti-God campaign had not been a success and, as I found when I visited the holy city of Zagorak, about fifty miles from Moscow, the number of pilgrims and worshippers has recently increased. When war demanded unity, Stalin took the church under his wing, and the hierarchy became an official institution, as it had been under Czardom. With this degree of tolerance, many young men and women do not accept the philosophy of Marx, basic though it is to all Soviet education. This, I gathered, was not considered important. God, unlike capitalism, is not dangerous. A young man to whom I spoke in an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art gallery volunteered that he was one of many who had chosen to be a theological student, training for the priesthood. Writers in the new atmosphere of freedom are bringing out from their drawers manuscripts which could not have been published in the past.

STEWART Alsop, who was in Moscow at the same time as I was, has probably done a useful job in the United States by telling readers of the *Herald Tribune* not to think of Moscow "as a miserable collection of mud huts, filled with a strange and hardly human race of people," but as "a city like other big cities, with buses that run on schedule, and big buildings, and a good many automobiles, and a great many people of all sorts and kinds." But who was it who gave Americans this fantastic notion of the Russians? How comes it, even now, that Mr. Alsop should write an article expressing surprise that Moscow students have a night of singing and dancing in the Red Square, as they usually do at New Year's, on May Day, and to celebrate the end of examinations? Mr. Alsop also reported as a strange novelty, that they dare to engage in back-chat with policemen, which suggests that he had not caught on to the difference between the security police, who seem to consist mainly of thugs, and the ordinary Moscow police whom you can watch answering pedestrians' inquiries just as London bobbies do. Now that Mr. Alsop has made the discovery that Russians are human beings, it would help if he would try to explain in precise words what liberties Soviet people are deprived of, instead of speaking as if they were the conditioned robots imagined by George Orwell.

Unhappily, the Soviet Union has some horribly Orwellian characteristics. The labor camps, the pervasive propaganda, the deliberate distortion of history, the purges of independent people—all these horrors, and others, still exist. But that is only part of the story. I have been shocked to hear highly sophisticated and, on other subjects, well-informed English and American people talk as if restrictions on personal and intellectual liberty justify calling the Russian people "slaves" or comparing Soviet society to an ant-heap. In fact, civil liberty, particularly intellectual liberty, is the fine flower of civilization, and its absence constitutes a grave indictment of Soviet rule. But how far that is from saying, as the *Daily Telegraph* did on July 11, that we are prepared to risk thermo-nuclear war, even though it should lead to the destruction of the human race, rather than to risk life under communism! I am sure that the writer of this article is completely sincere; he pictures Russia as a gigantic concentration camp, and forgets that political and civil liberties have to be won there, just as they must be won in Spain, and had to be fought for, not so many centuries ago, in other Western countries.

The only cure I know for such opinions is a visit to Moscow. The *Daily Telegraph* writer, like Stewart Alsop, will find it a shabby place, with everyone dressed and fed adequately but inelegantly. It is not restful, and everything in Moscow (except the beautifully restored and painted Kremlin) looks incomplete and run up in a hurry. The outskirts, with their giant cranes and ugly factories, look like a newly industrialized town in America. Everything expands so rapidly that there is no time, as yet, for anything to deepen. Moscow's art and architecture are predominantly Victorian, and rather bad Victorian at that. Its morals, too, are Victorian; divorce is difficult to obtain if there are children, and much frowned upon by public opinion. Young lovers walk through the trees and flowers in the Park of Culture and Rest; they hold hands, but seldom kiss in public. There is no titillation of sex; the products advertised by the state are ice cream, fruit juices, and beer, which the authorities hope will increasingly take the place of vodka. This may all seem rather drab and, in comparison with Western capi-

tals, lacking in color and gaiety. And then it may occur to our observer that, though Russia lacks civil liberties and offers no way of getting rich quickly, it is not in fact a country of mental slavery. On the contrary, an astonishingly high proportion of Moscow's reputed eight million people, most of whom were the children of illiterate peasants fifty years ago, are now reading—reading in subways and buses, in parks, and even in the streets, not novelettes and picture papers, but much of the world's great literature. If he gets his own interpreter he will hear many of them discussing the merits of the latest ballerina to dance in "Swan Lake," the scenery in the opera, and the justification for the latest interpretation of Hamlet. This is not a slave population; it is a remarkably educated one which, however, unhappily suffers from illusions about the outside world, deliberately induced by the state.

REVIEWING this, my conclusion is that something more has happened than the deliberate change to a tactical liberalization to please the West and to deceive Western social democrats. Once the lid is lifted from a dictatorship, it is hard to put it back again. Nehru's visit to Moscow helped the thaw. He spoke in the big stadium where I saw the Italians beat the Dynamo at football, and his speech, which included a defense of Western democratic institutions, was broadcast to the Russian people. Side by side with Marshal Bulganin, he drove for miles through freely congregating crowds which had never before seen their leaders except in the safety of a distant rostrum outside the Kremlin. Everywhere Nehru was received by the almost frantically delighted public which saw in him the man who was bringing peace.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This demand is one which the Soviet leaders cannot neglect even if they wished to. A prominent Russian said to me that Soviet leaders do not make trips abroad without obtaining results. They have already achieved the "relaxation of tension" which was their first objective; they have the best of reasons for wanting at least a measure of disarmament and though they will not agree to a solution of the German problem which would allow a united Germany to become a heavily armed part of the Western anti-Soviet alliance, they may, I believe, be ready, even in this most difficult of issues, to listen to suggestions of compromise. It was not unimportant that at the Helsinki "peace conference," Pierre Cot and Ehrenburg (who is more than a private person on such occasions) agreed as a first step that the French and Russians ought to back a scheme of international control over German rearmament.

In one discussion of these matters with a Soviet leader I recalled the jest about the correlation between the foreign policies and the favorite games of nations. The Americans, I suggested, are fond of poker; Dulles has constantly tried to build up "strength" in his hand, but has in fact had his bluff called over Korea, Viet Nam, and the Chinese offshore islands. The British play cricket, rather hoping after many days of play for a draw, as Sir Anthony Eden has often shown. But at this point, the important Soviet personality remarked that in the Russians' favorite sport of chess too, it is sometimes necessary to play for a draw.

THE NARROWING GAP

Arms Cuts in Order . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Geneva

THE Big Four agreed here that the United Nations subcommittee on disarmament should meet in New York next Monday, August 29. It was one of the clearest directives, as regards time and subject, given to the foreign ministers. And it was a logical one. The ideas which prevailed in the Big Four talks—that in nuclear war there can be no victor and that once war is excluded the problems of the world must be solved by peaceful discussion—forced the question of disarmament into the foreground. Without progress on disarmament we would have the paradox of a reduction of tension side by side with a strengthening of the military power of the two blocs. It is hardly conceivable that the United States can cling to its thesis that German rearmament is a "must" if Europe's unbalance in conventional arms is to be redressed, while Russia pushes the development of its new aircraft and its nuclear weapons in order to neutralize the nuclear superiority claimed by the West. Such a continuance of the status quo would be a curious kind of *detente*.

The subcommittee about to meet in New York has already accomplished good work. If some of the Western members, immersed in the psychology of the cold war, did not believe much in what they were doing, the French representative, Jules Moch, always maintained that by persistent effort the views of the West and of the Russians could be brought closer. The break came in the spring in London. New Soviet proposals submitted to the U. N. subcommittee on May 10 discarded the old Russian demand that all nations slash their conventional arms by a third, and took under consideration the Anglo-French proposal for the establishment of specific levels of armament for the various major powers. In his June 22 speech at the tenth-anniversary meeting of the U. N. in San Francisco, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov reaffirmed that position, thus narrowing the gap between Russia and the West.

The Big Four conference injected new ideas into the discussion. The four powers instructed their representatives on the subcommittee to take account of all the disarmament recommendations made at Geneva and told the foreign ministers to study the proceedings at the U. N. and consider whether the powers could take any further initiative.

AT Geneva President Eisenhower stole the show with his dramatic proposal for the opening of the skies to international reconnaissance and patrol. It made such an impression all over the world that the U. N. subcommittee will certainly give it extensive consideration. Its sensational side must be separated from its practical side. At least it touched an essential point. Regarding disarmament, the main question is how controls can be set up and supervised. The criticism of the Eisenhower proposal, even among Western experts, was that it depended on blueprints that could be incomplete, and that aerial reconnaissance could never successfully check. The original objection by Marshal Bulganin that the effect of such methods of exchanging and checking information on military preparations would be small because "anything can be hidden" in the vast expanse of Russia or America was generally shared by Western opinion. But Bulganin also saw the difficulty, from a political and psychological point of view, of rejecting an idea that had electrified public imagination, and in his speech before the Supreme Soviet he declared that Russia was ready to examine any proposal on disarmament, including President Eisenhower's. The subcommittee will therefore have to deal with the Eisenhower plan, as amplified in the program, still unpublished, to be submitted by Mr. Stassen. But it will also continue its previous efforts to arrive at a comprehensive and effective system of inspection and control.

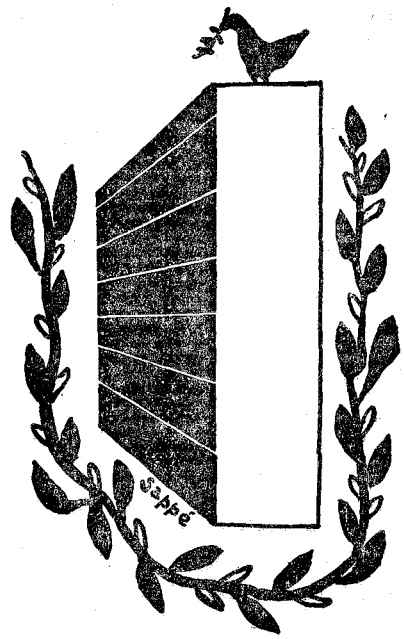
In the final communique at Geneva no mention was made of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

banning of atomic weapons. On the Russian side there is now less insistence on this demand, though it was and continues to be an appealing formula wherever pacifists and scientists, conscious of the irretrievable disaster involved in nuclear warfare, meet together. In view of Western adherence to the theory that the destruction of atomic stocks would not prevent the fabrication of new bombs, and that the formal banning of atomic weapons cannot be visualized until the other aspects of disarmament are faced, Russia has agreed to the idea of combining a substantial reduction of all armies with the outlawing of atomic weapons. Though the very complicated functions and operating methods of the atomic control agency are not yet solved in every detail, there has been substantial agreement on one important point: that the international control body will have the right to demand of every country *all* necessary information as to how the agreements reached on disarmament are being fulfilled. The Russians continue to argue that the best way to advance disarmament is to prove that one is ready to disarm, and consequently, "with the purpose of diminishing international tension," they have just announced that the effectives of the Soviet Union will be reduced by 640,000 men before December 15 of this year.

BUT OF course the problem of disarmament can never be separated from the problem of security. That is why the Big Four simultaneously instructed their Foreign Ministers to consider a security pact "for Europe or for a part of Europe." Bulganin presented his own all-Europe security plan, while Eden proposed, in turn, a five-power pact including the four powers represented at Geneva plus Germany. Recently Moscow suggested the possibility of a compromise between the two plans. An article in *Pravda* (August 12) on problems of European security says that Russia will not insist on an "immediate" incorporation of all European nations into its security system.

The question remains how much advance can be made in the direction of disarmament so long as the West persists in its plan to make a rearmed West Germany one of the main elements of the NATO mili-



tary system. Disarmament and the rearmament of Germany go badly together. It is here that the positions continue to be so difficult to reconcile. The British idea tends to tie the four powers and Germany in a reciprocal obligation to come to the aid of any one of them that is attacked by any other. The original Russian plan is broader in the sense that it would bring together all the members of NATO and of the Warsaw security pact. The *Pravda* article suggests something in between. But while the British were thinking of a reunited Germany which would become a member of the new security system, the Russians were thinking, on the contrary, of the "two German states," each entitled to its place in the pact. The second difference is that the British—like the other Western powers—think in terms of the maintenance of NATO, whereas the Russians insist "that genuine security can be achieved only when all military groupings disappear"—to use Marshal Bulganin's words.

Nor are the Germans facilitating matters. They do not excel in discretion. Now quite recovered from the disappointment produced by the Russian-American fraternization during the Geneva talks, Chancellor Adenauer has been telling everyone worthy of his confidence who approaches him during his vacation in Muerren, that in three or four years, after a West German army is in being, Bonn will be able to negotiate "from strength" with the East. But it was evident long ago that no agreement on Germany could be made acceptable to the Russians which did not prohibit both the manufacture of atomic weapons by the Germans and their use of such weapons. Nevertheless during the atomic conference in Geneva it has been rumored that, in secret talks, American and German experts on atomic energy have been discussing the important role Germany could play in the production of atomic weapons if one day the "spirit of Geneva" were to give way to a new policy of "containment." The Brussels newspaper, *Le Soir* (July 25, 1955) headed a report on this subject: "L'Allemagne sera le laboratoire des armes secretes de l' O. T. A. N. (Germany will be the laboratory of the secret weapons of NATO.)"

The U. N. subcommittee is going to have only a few days for the consideration of the numerous questions mentioned in this article, and for the drafting of a report to be submitted to the other seven members which, with it, comprise the Committee of Twelve. Everything must be ready before September 20 when the Tenth Assembly of the United Nations will open. The most they can hope to do is to put together the points on which there is already agreement and to open the way for the future handling of those that are still in dispute. In terms of the United Nations the subcommittee will probably be thinking more about the Assembly of 1956 than the Assembly that starts in three weeks, though the press continues to say that disarmament will be the top feature this fall. But it will also have in mind that on October 27 the second phase of the great experiment in international collaboration and coexistence begins at Geneva with the meeting of the four foreign ministers. After the summit meeting hopes are high, the will to disarmament is stronger, and the idea of a European security pact is taking shape more clearly. So the committee members will doubtless ponder the words of President Eisenhower before he left for Geneva: "It is perfectly stupid to continue to put so much money and effort into nuclear weapons and armed forces in general." Of course that philosophy should be applied in the first instance to the case of Germany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOUISIANA'S GOOD STRIKE

Unity vs. Injunctions . . . *by Alfred Maund*

New Orleans

THE first person I asked about the strike of 1,500 workers at two sugar refineries some forty miles from here was a staunch union supporter. He described the injunctions and contempt citations, the hostility of the press, and the evictions and other pressures the companies were exerting against the strikers. But after this doleful summary he concluded with heartfelt fervency: "It's a *good* strike."

He found its goodness, I think, in the fundamental issue involved, in the dramatic character of the disputants, and in the significance its outcome will have for the labor movement both in the South and in the country as a whole.

The United Packinghouse Workers of America (C. I. O.), which represents the strikers, is one of the most democratic and progressive unions. It has pioneered in the elimination of race and sex wage differentials and in securing a guaranteed annual wage for factory workers. The men and women of Locals 1124 and 1167 are typical of the group Southern chambers of commerce like to call "docile and cheap." The strike-bound refineries, Godchaux and Colonial, are two of the strongest and most reactionary employers in the region.

The sugar-cane industry in Louisiana has a long but hardly honorable history. Frederick Law Olmsted in "The Cotton Kingdom" gives a graphic picture of unrest on a "successful" ante-bellum sugar plantation, with its debt-haunted owner and its sullen, malingering slaves. The industry survived the early decades of the twentieth century only by grace of high tariffs on imports from areas where the climate is more favorable for the raising of cane, and production costs are even lower. This protectionist concern caused the sugar parishes to elect Republicans to Congress in the twenties.

The toll on the American consumer was justified "in the interests of national defense," according to the civics teacher I had when I was a schoolboy in that section of Louisiana. But that same teacher, member of a genteel, but dispossessed plantation family, also revealed the monopolistic trend that flowered behind the tariff wall.

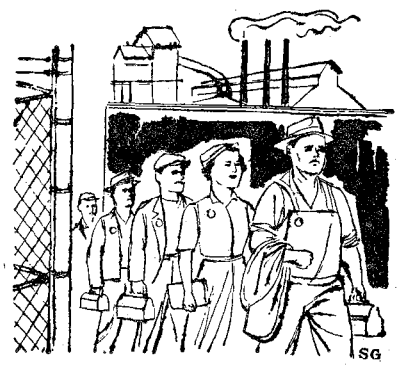
As modern markets made processing and marketing more complex, the sugar plantations generally lost their self-sufficiency. The raising and refining of cane became operations conducted by different managements. But not for long. Sugar cane is a highly perishable crop. Once it is cut it will not keep in storage; it cannot be allowed to grow in the fields indefinitely, because it is susceptible to frost. Soon the refiners came to realize that these aspects of the crop left the planters in no position to haggle about selling prices. And with a firm squeeze of this upper hand the refineries eventually took over the plantations, consolidating what had been numero individual landholdings. As a logical next step, many of the sugar kings merged with their erstwhile foreign competitors – Colonial refinery, for example, is a subsidiary of the Cuban-American Sugar Company. All are members of the American Sugar Cane League, a lobbying and price-fixing group.

THE striking sugar workers live in the small towns of Gramercy and Reserve on the banks of the Mississippi River. Negroes make up a little more than half of the union membership. The whites are mainly French-speaking "Cajuns," whose forebears were driven from Acadia in Canada in 1755. Their history is similar to that of the mountaineers in other Southern states. They were caught in a squeeze between slave-labor New Orleans to the east and the large plantations to the west. Unable to find jobs in the city, or to buy decent land in the country, they settled in the bayou swamps and on the river banks to scratch out a living as fishermen, trappers, or roustabouts. With the end of the slave system they entered the labor market with hardly more status than the freed Negro.

The Negroes live in their separate sectors of the towns, attend their Baptist churches while the predominantly Catholic whites go to their own, and in general follow the Jim Crow pattern of life—except in the union. The executive boards of the locals are interracial; the only segregation at meetings is self-segregation, and this is breaking down as white and black grow more dependent on each other during the long test of strength.

That these people should have a union at all is itself a cause for wonder. Although close to metropolitan New Orleans geographically, St. John the Baptist Parish and St. James Parish are a century away in other respects. They are baronies, where not only the land, the stores, and the workers' houses are owned by the sugar companies, but the law and the commonest utilities are equally beholden. At Gramercy the town's water and power supply come from the Colonial refinery, and the town marshall was obliged to deputize a group of citizens to curb disorders caused by drunken strike-breakers. Reserve, although it has a population of some 3,000, is unincorporated and law enforcement rests in the hands of Godchaux guards.

In 1879 the Knights of Labor at-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tempted to organize the ex-slaves working on the plantations in these parishes. The state militia moved in and the leaders were sent to prison for trespassing on the planters' property. In 1953 the A. F. of L. Agricultural Workers Union received treatment only slightly less harsh when it led a strike of field workers, who earned—and still earn—forty-four cents an hour. A shower of injunctions and a flurry of blackjacks broke the strike within a month.

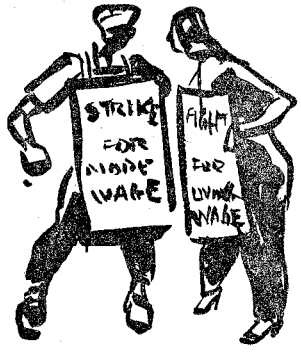
The U. P. W. A. locals are seeking a ten-cent-an-hour raise—an amount already granted by refineries in New Orleans and Texas. Godchaux and Colonial have offered a nickel. This resistance represents the refineries' attempt to stall U. P. W. A.'s systematic attack on North-South wage differentials — a gap that now amounts to forty-nine cents an hour. The companies balked where they thought they were the strongest—where the rout of the Agricultural Workers had proved they were the law.

This resistance did not come as a surprise to U. P. W. A. Last summer there was a brief attempt to create an "independent" union, accompanied by a red-baiting whispering campaign. At this time, as a counter, the Louisiana locals played host to a conference of refinery union leaders from along the Eastern seaboard, ranging as far north as Boston and including A. F. of L. affiliates and independents. The sessions stressed the importance of gaining a uniform industry-wide wage scale, and pledges of support toward this end were obtained.

AFTER the strike began on April 14, Godchaux went to 77-year-old Judge L. Robert Rivarde, who had served the company well during its dispute with its field workers. He issued an injunction limiting the union to two pickets at not more than four picket posts. These pickets were required to be "always and constantly moving" and were handed a catalog of activities in which they were forbidden to indulge, including "warning, threatening, or adjuring" persons not to enter the plant or hurling "abusive and offensive epithets." When Colonial went to the district judge of St. James Parish it fared even better. He forbade picketing entirely at that refinery.

The injunctions not only covered union members but "all persons acting for or on their behalf or under their influence, inducement, or persuasion or in concert with them," and thus the way was paved for prosecution of those who "conspired" to breach the peace within the jurisdiction of the court.

The first case to fall under this sweeping edict arose from the beat-



ing up of a strike-breaker by two men who had no connection with either the union or the refineries. They and five strikers who were present at the time were sentenced, without jury trial, to sixty days in jail for "contempt of court."

On June 15, thirty-one "conspirators," including the officers and executive board of Local 1124, were put on trial. Information was furnished by Godchaux lawyers and again there was no jury. The hearings are still going on. In the meantime, Local 1167 was fined $1,000 for violation of the no-picketing injunction and 35 of its members were fined and given jail sentences of three and five days in jail, with more time to be served if the fines weren't paid.

To cap this, Judge Walter B. Hamlin, acting as special judge in St. James, ordered Colonial's attorney's to cite Ralph Helstein, national president of U. P. W. A., and two other officials for being "an integral part of the conspiracy and scheme illegally to prevent the plaintiff [Colonial] from operating its sugar refinery." What particularly drew the Judge's wrath was the picketing conducted by Gramercy housewives, acting on their own initiative.

How can such judicial despotism prevail without check from higher courts? According to Benjamin E. Smith, the youthful-looking, sharply analytical counsel for the strikers, the situation is largely the product of a series of anti-labor decisions by state and federal judges. In the thirties Louisiana passed a replica of the federal Norris-LaGuardia Act that placed restrictions on the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, provided for trial by jury in contempt cases, and demanded full proof in instances of alleged conspiracy. But in 1954, coincident with the passage of the state "right-to-work" law, the Louisiana supreme court declared the restraints on injunctions unconstitutional. This decision arose from the strike of sugar-plantation field workers. In the current strikes, district courts have invalidated the trial-by-jury proviso.

Efforts of the union to go beyond the state courts have been blocked by local federal courts that declare the mere allegation of strike violence by employers is sufficient to give state courts exclusive jurisdiction. These rulings also bar intervention by the National Labor Relations Board.

WHILE continuing to seek new avenues of relief in the legal battle, U. P. W. A. is pinning its hopes of ultimate victory on the stamina of the strikers and the force of public opinion. Fewer than forty strikers have given up and returned to work. Contributions have been coming in from U. P. W. A. locals over the nation and a referendum has been launched to permit raising of a strike fund. In Cuba, the maritime, railroad, and sugar workers have refused to handle raw sugar intended for the struck refineries. With the support of the national C. I. O. a buyers' boycott of Godchaux and Colonial products is under way.

Still, the scabs roll in every day and every day some striker's furniture is dumped in the street. To quote attorney Smith: "This is the front line of American labor. The colonized workers of a colonial area are being lifted out of their old status through unionism, and this process is being fought, with the aid and full knowledge of the courts, by the old, brutal Southern bourbons and their traditional allies, the Northern absentee-owners. They are reviving the old weapons of injunction, conspiracy, and contempt, and pushing to the limit the new 'right-to-work' laws inspired by Taft-Hartley."

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONSIGNOR AND MADAM

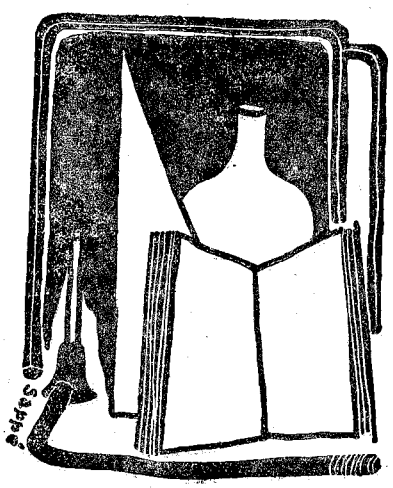
The World of Paperbacks . . . *by Alex Rider*

ONLY in the American paperback book trade could a single publisher inform his publicity department that his (reprint) edition of Polly Adler's "A House Is Not a Home" had topped a million sales and that Monsignor Sheen's "The Eternal Galilean" was running a close second. Such can be the joys of soft-cover publishing and such is the happily eclectic fare served up for the paperback reader.

Until a year ago there was much heated talk, pro and con, about the cultural "revolution" wrought by these "books that sell as cheaply as a pack of cigarettes," as E. A. Lindeman once called them. Cultural claims aside, the "revolution" was, of course, not only production of 25-50 cent books on a mass basis but also the by-passing, in their distribution, of our shockingly meager (and precariously maintained) 1,200-odd bookshops the country over.

In the past year, however, the paperback business has taken a few new turns, moving sometimes in old directions. The biggest developments have been: the entry of hard-cover publishers into the soft-cover field; the increase in high-level, generally non-fiction titles; a return, in the case of such titles, to print orders more nearly of hard-cover proportions (10,000 as against a usual paperback run of 250,000); distribution again via the bookshop; and prices gradually spiraling to more nearly the cost of a whole carton of cigarettes. And once more there is talk of glut, which echoes earlier dire prophecies of collapse of the paperback "boom."

There have been crises in the past: overproduction, faulty distribution, and consequent dumping of titles. But no collapse. Chastened publishers did curtail the number of titles published and cut print orders; more important, on the positive side, they busied themselves to find fresh editorial and marketing approaches. Most of them survived handily, and some are now expanding or adding new lines. Glut or no glut, hard-



cover houses continue to go into the paperback field: Viking, for example, started this spring to bring out its Portables in soft covers; Harcourt Brace has recently released its Harvest Books. These are only the latest ventures in an experiment piloted by Doubleday with Anchor Books, and in which Knopf's Vintage, Noonday's Meridian, and Grove's Evergreen lines, among others, are already established in terms of sales.

One small but firm token of the growing stability in paperback publishing is Bowker's decision to issue, every four months, a catalogue of "Paperbound Books in Print." This compendium lists some forty-five hundred titles regularly available from forty-four publishers. This is a far cry from the not-so-distant days of the "impulse item," when a book was considered dead after two weeks' exposure on the racks. Naturally, some publishers still operate on the basis of quick sales and for many titles that is entirely appropriate handling, but a substantial number of paperback titles are now of the long-selling variety.

It would be a great mistake, out of enthusiasm for the proliferating and truly admirable new *class* paperbacks, to overlook the older *mass* lines. The terms in themselves are misleading. *Class* commonly refers to paperbacks distributed only through bookshops and sold at prices ranging from 65 cents to $1.95; by *mass* is meant those books given magazine-type distribution in drugstores, supermarkets, rail terminals, etc., and sold for 25 to 50 cents. To assume that a mass paperback is, in content, necessarily inferior to its class cousin, is grossly erroneous. A nucleus of the early paperback houses has from the outset offered well balanced lists; hundreds of excellent fiction and non-fiction titles were available before publishers of the exclusively class lines were sufficiently encouraged to risk the plunge. The very existence of such lines as Anchor, Vintage, Meridian, and their peers must be partly attributed to pioneering by such houses as Pocket Book, New American Library (Signet and Mentor), and Bantam. These mass publishers were the first to demonstrate that a mass public will buy—and presumably also read—good books. They are also still the only publishers who make it possible to buy Homer in Podunk for 35 cents.

THE paperbacks have had another kind of impact on the book trade. The mass publishers have dramatically illustrated a correlation between the price of a book and size of its sales. They have thereby shaken some hidebound trade attitudes and practices. One manifestation of this is Knopf's recent publication of its first paperback original ("Mine Boy" by Abrahams) for $1.25 which, depending on sales, may or may not be issued subsequently in hard covers. Knopf describes this as an experiment and believes it may allow publishers to afford the risk of presenting new or still unestablished authors.

ALEX RIDER is the pseudonym of two New York reviewers who have developed a specialized research service for paperback publishers.

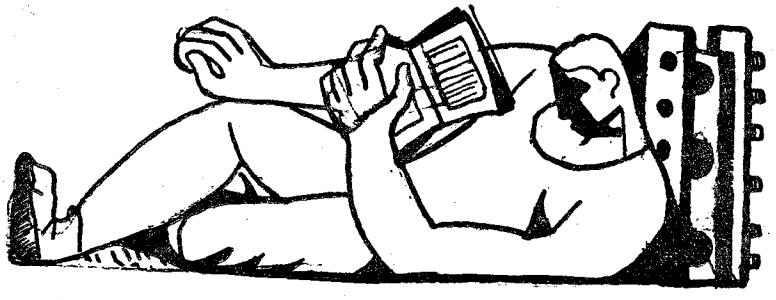
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a sense this is an experiment, but it is not wildly radical. By now, almost all soft-cover publishers do some originals. Nor is it infrequent for two publishers to cooperate and simultaneously to publish two separate editions one hard- the other soft-cover. In another variation, one house now produces small hard-cover runs of its titles and, using the same plates, issues a much larger soft-cover edition. But experimentation is done gingerly. For example, Ian Ballantine pioneered simultaneous publication in cooperation with well-known hard-cover houses. Yet he announced recently that he was withholding the scheduled soft-cover edition of a new book because he felt its "reputation" (and presumably its sales) could best be enhanced by launching it as a conventional hard-cover item. In other words, a lot of answers are still to be found. In the absence of adequate market research, flexibility is the order of the day.

IF A certain prestige is still reserved to the hard-cover book, it must not obscure the fact that soft-cover editors are functioning today more creatively than in the past. They cannot all be dismissed, as their hard-cover colleagues once inclined to do, as mere wizards with the sales charts. Many good originals come out of paperback houses, and a growing number of book ideas and manuscripts originating with soft-cover editors, appear first as hard-cover items, or simultaneously.

In all this lively ferment, there looms the still unanswered question: who reads paperbacks? Probably all the class publishers would agree with Jason Epstein, originator and editor of Anchor Books, who has said that his is largely a college reading public; together with him, they would immediately qualify this by noting that a considerable percentage of high-level paperbacks is bought outside university circles. Referring to the lack of firm data Charles Levy, Jr., reputedly the largest distributor of magazines and paperbacks in the country, has observed that unless market analysis is better developed, soft-cover lines will go into the red and adds that "selling quality merchandise of any kind is always easier than trying to impose second-rate stuff on the public." Pollster Gallup, on the other hand, who has foretold a serious decline in reading generally, questions the existence of a mass market and claims that 9 per cent of paperback readers account for 78 per cent of paperback sales. In contradiction to this, a prominent bookseller reports that soft-cover books attract particularly customers who are not already confirmed readers and buyers and lists his priority customers as young people, travelers, and adults interested in self-education.

If the bookseller were right, young readers would represent the expanding market. They have not been neglected. Whereas the general public got its first paperback book club only a few months ago, young readers have had a flourishing one for the past nine years. The Teen-Age Book Club, distributing only paperbacks, was sparked by Pocket Book but is now run by the *Scholastic* magazine group. Last year its membership—650,000 school-age children—bought close to 3,000,000 paperbacks. Not comics, but good books carefully selected by a board of teachers and librarians to appeal to a varied taste and reading capacity. The age range is wide, i.e., from sixth grade through high school. This potential audience is estimated at 7,000,000; currently, then, through this one club, one out of every ten children is buying paperbacks, at the rate of four or five a year. The club's "best-seller" list, compiled last year, is interesting: leading comfortably is "Boy Dates Girl" (185,000 copies); "Your Own Joke Book" and the "Merriam Webster Pocket Dictionary" rank side by side in the 100,000-and-better bracket. Dropping down to a mere 40-50,000 ("mere" only in the world of paperbacks), the teen-agers browse as happily through "The Great Houdini" as "The Scarlet Letter." Shakespeare, making the list handily, is still bettered, almost three to one, by "Dennis the Menace."



REPRESENTING no vast outlet, there is a small but growing market for paperbacks abroad, where the inexpensive book has such obvious economic advantages and where the good American book is so hard to come by. To this problem, a peripheral assist is being offered by CARE which, in cooperation with the United States Information Agency, has launched "The American Bookshelf." The Bookshelf, a collection of ninety-nine fairly diversified books "typical" of what Americans themselves are reading, costs only $30, delivery guaranteed. But here, too, the mass titles blazed the trail. As early as 1945, certain paperback houses (NAL, Fawcett, Pocket Books) were arranging for display and eventual sale of their wares through the kiosks along the Via Veneto and the Paris stationers' shops. Today trade is brisk in both cities and a score of lesser stations, even in second-hand paperbacks which are avidly snapped up at half the original price. Some distribution in Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America has been developed. The best overseas customer is Israel, where about 16 per cent of all United States books sold are paperbacks.

Outside the United States, of course, one does not meet with our stubborn notion that a book cannot really be a book unless it's conventionally packaged. But that prejudice, too, seems to be softening. Many now feel as did the prominent French editor who recently visited New York and was taken, as part of his tour, to see a quite comprehensive display of paperbacks in a local bookstore. Whether he was speaking as a publisher or reader may be a moot point, but he stared at the galaxy of titles and muttered, Lord, a gold mine!

[*Brief reviews of recent paperback editions in various fields are presented on page 180.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

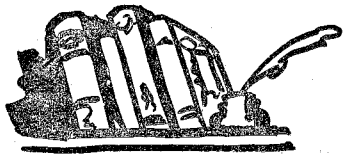
The Necessity of Love

THE GENIUS AND THE GODDESS. By Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

By Carlos Baker

IN ALDOUS HUXLEY'S tenth novel, his first since 1948, one discovers again that odd blend of a semi-aggressive naturalism with a frequently explicit supernaturalism which, for some years now, has distinguished his work in fiction and belles-lettres. The area in which he operates stretches on the one side *ad majorem Dei gloriam,* and on the other *ad majorem hominis degradationem.* The trick is to make us simultaneously aware of men's capacity for self-degradation and of the glory of God's universe, and to show the means by which—on fleeting but memorable occasions—man may rise from the bed of Lazarus (one of the book's images) and walk transfigured.

What Huxley has told in "The Genius and The Goddess" is a not-very-extraordinary love story designed to show that love can make all things extraordinary. When John Rivers, the narrator, was in love with Katy Maartens, wife of his senior professor on a research job in physics, he "had at least ten times more life and energy than at ordinary times," and lived in a transfigured world. "I remember," Rivers reminisces, speaking of himself in the third person, "I remember how he looked at landscapes; and the colors were incomparably brighter, the patterns that things made in space unbelievably beautiful. I remember how he glanced around him in the streets, and St. Louis, believe it or not, was the most splendid city ever built. People, houses, trees, T-model Fords, dogs at lamp-posts—everything was more significant. Significant, you may ask, of what? And the answer is: themselves. . . . Why do you love the woman you're in love with? Because she *is.* And that, after all, is God's own definition of Himself: I am that I am. The girl is who she is. Some of her isness spills over and impregnates the entire universe. Objects and events cease to be mere representatives of classes and become their own uniqueness; cease to be illustrations of verbal abstractions and become



fully concrete. Then you stop being in love, and the universe collapses, with an almost audible squeak of derision, into its normal insignificance. Could it ever *stay* transfigured? Maybe it could. Maybe it's just a question of being in love with God."

The foregoing is a fair sample of the mode of discourse followed by Huxley in the "philosophical" asides which punctuate his narrative. The book takes the form of a somewhat one-sided conversation between two old men, Rivers and an unnamed friend who is a novelist. The time is a recent Christmas Eve, but the period Rivers is recalling is that fifteen months in the early 1920's when he was a young physicist living in St. Louis, Missouri, in the household of a genius and—praise be!—a goddess.

GENIUS, goddess, young man: this is the triangle. Henry Maartens, scientific genius, Nobel Prize-winner, is a temperamental valetudinarian, a terror-baby round the house, small, thin, beak-nosed, asthmatic, white-haired, dependent, old enough to be the grandfather of his two children. Katy, his wife, a strong young matron, might be Demeter, might be Aphrodite, but is most like Hera come down to earth, rich in health, with an instinctive unverbalized wisdom, sure and independent in action, serene and untroubled in spirit, a man's dream of a wife. "For her, the supernatural was Nature; the divine was neither spiritual nor specifically human. . . . She was a kind of feminine Antaeus—invincible while her feet were on the ground, a goddess so long as she was in contact with the greater goddess within her, the universal Mother without." Without Katy, Henry withers and decays, descends to the moribundity of Lazarus, claws at the door of death. The young man, adopted into the household, worships the genius for his genius and the goddess for her goddesslike qualities. The situation awaits a precipitant.

It comes in the form of an illness which is fatal to Katy's mother. When the goddess leaves the Maartens house to go to the bedside of her mother, the genius swiftly decays, loses his center of gravity, slips towards death himself. When she returns, after a hopeless three-week contest with her mother's sickness, Katy is drained and empty, "a shell animated only by the will." She seems incapable of reviving her husband; she is caught, as it were, between two deaths, one actual, one imminent. "It's the virtue," cries Beulah, the aged family retainer. "The virtue's gone out of you. Like it went out of our dear Lord when all those sick people kept grabbing hold of him."

IN WHAT ironic manner Katy's "virtue" as healer is restored, in what way young John Rivers is born for the first time into the stream of life, readers will discover for themselves. In the process they will also recognize that Huxley has written one of those fictions which work also on the plane of the fable. The cold intellectuality of which Huxley has been too often accused is here more than adequately countermanded. There is room at the inner circle of his particular mystique for the sustaining power of a Demeter, a Hera, an Aphrodite. Without this power the higher mathematics of the soul will wither like plants cut off from their source of supply. "Earth's the right place for love," said Robert Frost. "I don't know where it's likely to go better." Huxley has here presented in a credible fiction a fable about the necessity of love.

CARLOS BAKER, chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University, is the author of "The American Looks at the World," "Hemingway, the Writer as Artist," "Shelley's Major Poetry," "Shelley's Poetry and Prose," and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An American Tragedy

THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. By John Wexley. Cameron and Kahn. $6.

By Carey McWilliams

IT WAS the essential tragedy of the Rosenberg-Sobell case that the American public never received a clear and timely statement of the facts, that is, of the way in which the case began and the strange sequence of events that took place before the trial. This was not exclusively the fault of the press nor can it be entirely explained in terms of mass hysteria. The defense left a great deal to be desired. Then, too, some of the facts did not come to light until much later. The factual pattern, moreover, was inherently complex; it was not easy then—it is not easy today—to get a clear view of the case.

John Wexley, in this mammoth volume (673 pages), has tackled the problem in the right way, namely, by first giving the reader a skilfully constructed account of the events preceding the trial. In his view, the trial was an "empty ritual," the nub of the case consisting in the manner in which it unfolded. Part I, therefore, is devoted to lengthy accounts of the principal participants: Harry Gold, the Greenglasses, the Rosenbergs, Morton Sobell, Max Elitcher. These chapters make it much easier for the reader to understand what happened at the trial. As a further aid to understanding, Wexley has written an introductory chapter in which he explains — and most convincingly — why it is that tragedies like the Rosenberg-Sobell case are always compounded of many elements: tentative and reluctant half-lies; coincidences and tenuous circumstantial evidence; half-truths and full truths; elaboration and embroidery; nuances, insinuations, and innuendos; carefully dropped hints and suggestions; "piling it on" or the technique of adding glosses to the "story"; prolonged and exhaustive interrogations; self-entrapment; artful suggestion of "motive" and "intent"; and, finally, actual collusion. It is Wexley's careful analysis of the complex pre-trial factual situation, and of the trial itself in the light of this theory, that enables him to provide the reader with a clear and satisfactory account of the case. At the end the reader—somewhat exhausted, I must admit — puts the book down with the feeling that he has been exposed to the facts and circumstance of a grim and complex American tragedy.

MR. WEXLEY makes no pretense of being neutral or dispassionate. But one does not need to accept as valid all the inferences, theories, and conclusions which he urges in order to be convinced, in the end, that the conviction of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, in Harold Urey's phrase, failed to meet the standards of American justice. There are large recurrent doubts about aspects of the case which grow more disturbing with the passage of time and Mr. Wexley's shrewd reading of the testimony reawakens and confirms many of these doubts. I have not been able to check the author's references to the record against the actual transcript; it would take an entire summer to make the comparison. Two key phases of the testimony, however, suggest the nature of his analysis.

Consider, for example, the strange case of the self-confessed spy, Harry Gold. In the trial of a man named Brothman, who was convicted of conspiring to obstruct justice shortly prior to the Rosenberg trial, Gold was on the stand for nearly five days. Not only did he freely confess that he had lied but it was clearly established that he had fabricated a mythical or fantasy existence for himself which had no relation to reality. "I had become so tangled up in this web of lies," he said, "that it was easier to continue telling an occasional one than to try and straighten the whole hideous mess out . . . . It is a wonder that steam didn't come out of my ears at times." Yet, strange as it may seem, Gold was not cross-examined in the Rosenberg-Sobell case and the jury never learned of the pattern of pathological lying to which he had confessed, as a witness, in the Brothman case. Even stranger is the fact that the judge who presided at the Rosenberg trial and the prosecutor who conducted it had occupied the same roles in the Brothman trial and were familiar with Gold's testimony in that case. Incidentally there was about this Brothman case and everything connected with it a strange air of unreality. For example, it is doubtful if a crime was actually committed; Brothman's conviction would appear to have been based on a series of delusions which Gold skilfully projected and artfully maintained. Even more interesting is the circumstance that the judge who sentenced Gold, in the case based on his voluntary confession of espionage, had obvious misgivings about the confession. Mr Wexley's account of what happened in court when Judge James P. McGranery, who later became Attorney General, passed sentence on Gold (pp. 72-77), makes interesting reading.

Even more convincing than his analysis of Gold's testimony is Mr. Wexley's account of the testimony of Max Elitcher. It will be recalled that the direct evidence against Morton Sobell derived solely from the testimony of Elitcher. Apart from the fact that Elitcher was "on the hook," for having previously falsified an affidavit, his testimony is inherently incredible. Elitcher we are told, was a member of a group of conspirators engaged in espionage. But a more futile conspiracy it would be difficult to imagine. The conspirators may have conspired but what they did in furtherance of the conspiracy is not clear. Four years elapsed from Elitcher's initial recruitment and still nothing happened. No documents were stolen or photographed, no files were rifled, no plans were purloined. Moreover, we are asked to believe that Elitcher was induced to enter this dangerous conspiracy after only five or six minutes conversation with a man that he had not seen for six years.

THE testimony of both Gold and Elitcher is vital to the structure of the story upon which the guilt of the Rosenbergs and Sobell depends. But the more one ponders their testimony, the more one is impressed by Mr. Wexley's statement that the trial was a political prosecution, staged in a fear-ridden atmosphere in which the guilt of the defendants was taken for granted from the moment they were arrested.

In a recently published study, Nicholas Halasz points out that the Dreyfus case was "a nightmare dreamed during a nightmare." The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rosenberg-Sobell case has the same quality.

There is little reason to believe that this book, which is not likely to be widely reviewed although it should be, will produce any immediate change in American opinion on the case; the national verdict remains the same. But the popular verdict of the future may not be the same as the popular verdict of the cold-war years. Recognition that the handling of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, from its inception to the unseeming haste with which the final motions were disposed of, did not measure up to the standards of American justice will come slowly, painfully, one phase at a time, as the nightmare of fear and suspicion out of which it emerged is finally dispelled. "The sense of right," India's philosopher-statesman C. R. Rajagopalachari has written, "is the most prominent thing that marks America's history."

Current Books in Soft Covers

[*These brief reviews, covering a number of recent paperback releases, supplement and illustrate the article, Monsignor and Madam, on page 176.*]

THE OFFICE ENCYCLOPEDIA. Edited by H. and S. K. Mager. Pocket Books. 50 cents.

For office worker and boss alike, a handy but comprehensive bible of "do's" and "dont's." Touches on everything from correct English usage to good telephone manners, on the secrets of efficient office records, and effective working relationships.

YOUR GUIDE TO FINANCIAL SECURITY. By Sidney Margolius. Signet Key. 35 cents.

The information is specific and the advice down-to-earth in this guide for moderate-income families. Discusses consumer budget problems—food, clothing, housing—and perhaps even more helpfully, social security, comparative advantages of various types of insurance, and investments.

THE BASEBALL ALMANAC, 1955. Edited by Hy Turkin. Pocket Books 35 cents.

Casey Stengel says this one's "really on the ball," so who should argue? In 290 pages, it provides everything but a weather forecast for the World Series.

PORTABLE GREEK READER. Selected by W. H. Auden. Viking. $1.45.

What makes this an outstanding success is the arrangement which Auden, with sensitivity, knowledge, and care, has given this body of frequently miscellaneous material. Part I, containing selections from Hesiod, Sophocles, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Plato, and Aristotle, among others, is related to cosmogonies and cosmologies; Part II, drawing heavily on Homer, Aristotle, and Pindar, concerns the hero; Part III, with Euclid, Galen, Hippocrates, and Cleomenendes added to Aristotle, treats of nature; IV, of man (and here there is an important sub-section on literary forms); while the final part, V, concerns society. Auden's foreword is clear, penetrating, and provocative. He says, "If a civilization be judged by [the] double standard of the degree of diversity attained and the degree of unity retained, then it is hardly too much to say that the Athenians of the Fifth Century B. C. were the most civilized people who have so far existed." After working your way through the "Portable Greek Reader," you will probably agree.

COMPLETE BOOK OF GARDENING. Dell. 50 cents.

Well named, for this compact package contains seven individual garden books from the Rinehart Garden Library and will do handsomely for anyone who cultivates his own.

JAPANESE LITERATURE. By Donald Keene. Evergreen. $1.

This brief critical study surveys the major forms of Japanese literature, poetry, drama, and the novel, and discusses Western influence on the Japanese writer. There is literally nothing available in English to compare with it. Remarkably selective, the book manages to convey the spirit of a whole literature whi for us, has been remote and from which relatively few adequate translations have been made. Mr. Keene's "Anthology of Japanese Literature" is scheduled for fall publication by Evergreen. As an introduction, "Japanese Literature" is altogether adroit and perceptive.

NEW WORLD WRITING NO. 7. Mentor. 50 cents.

This earliest of paperback anthologies continues to lead the field. The current issue contains a straight-thinking article by Charles Fenton, The Writer as Professor, and two able stories of the American scene, Something in His Nature by Gina Berriault and The Real Train by Evelyn Thompson Riesman. The Dylan Thomas cult is well served with the reprint of two very short stories previously published in England, several letters to Oscar Williams which add little to the reader's respect for Mr. Williams's taste in permitting their publication but which confirm the picture of the perpetual pecuniary harassment of the poet, *and*, as a bonus of sorts, a portrait of Thomas by Williams's wife, Gene Derwood, a tip-in in full color. As readers of NWW have come to expect, the poetry sections are of high caliber. Harriet de Onis offers an excellent selection of Brazilian poets, the whole ably introduced and translated by herself. In addition, there are ten new British poets, selected and introduced by the Scots poet and critic, G. S. Fraser. Those who have been following the snatches of autobiography John Lehmann has published in an earlier NWW will not want to miss the current passages which contain sharp reflections of the ideological conflicts set in motion by the depression and the Spanish war. And there is much more of merit, including a hilarious section of Leydenfrost cartoons.

IMMORTALITY. By Ashley Montagu. Evergreen. $1.

A series of three lectures on a subject of endless fascination. Montagu, known in this country especially for "The Natural Superiority of Women," is an anthropologist and social thinker of penetration, personal honesty, and wit. He discusses man's need for a sense of life-continuity, from earliest recorded times to the present, and concludes that the need is ineluctable, offering what is obviously his own preferred answer to the riddle of man's desire to outlast himself: "For twenty-five

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

centuries," he says, "the Chinese have believed . . . in the imortality of virtue or character, in the immortality of achievement or worth, and in the immortality of the spoken word. But [this conception] is too aristocratic, too exclusive . . . . What we need is not an aristocratic but a democratic conception of immortality, a belief in the truth that everyone is immortal in the sense that whatever men do lives on somehow, somewhere, somewhen. That there is an immortality of the evil that men do as well as of . . . the sublime, of the ugly as well as of the beautiful, of stupidity as well as of wisdom, of selfishness as well as of service, the immortality, in short, of what one *is*."

THE MODERN THEATRE. Edited by Eric Bentley. Anchor Original. Three volumes. 95 cents each.

By way of theater books, Eric Bentley seems to have pretty well blanketed the market. Each volume of this edition ranges over the past 100 years and draws from various nations both well and little known works, such as Brecht's "The Threepenny Opera" and de Musset's "Fantasio." The selections neatly illustrate the editor's very decided views on the theater, for an explicit statement of which one can turn to two reprints, his "The Playwright as Thinker" (Meridian, $1.25) and "In Search of Theater" (Vintage, 95 cents). The first of these is a provocative study of the modern theater in which ideas, techniques, styles, authors, producers, and publics are examined by a widely informed and experienced theater practitioner and critic, whose wit and taste (including a taste for a lively scrap) are welcome spice to his abiding, serious concern with the drama. "In Search of Theater," a survey of theatrical developments in the West since World War II, is a virtuoso combination of reportage and appraisal.

Frances Fergusson's "The Idea of a Theater" (Anchor, 75 cents) examines ten plays, from Sophocles to T. S. Eliot and, with philosophical comprehensiveness, seeks to trace the changing art of the drama. Lastly, "Six Plays of Strindberg" (Anchor Original, $1.25) is a happy offering not only because the package contains the major plays but chiefly, perhaps, because Elizabeth Sprigge's translations open the way for the first time to a direct appreciation of Strindberg's genius by English-language readers. There is a short prefatory note on the Swedish playwright by (guess who) Mr. E. B.

THE COMPLETE STORIES OF ERSKINE CALDWELL. Signet. 50 cents.

These stories range from *Redbook* to *Southways,* from *Esquire* to *Story Magazine.* In Caldwell's autobiography, "Call It Experience," he said: "Many years ago, I divided the population into two parts: those who read and those who write. I wished to be in the latter category." He has been. The present collection once more attests Caldwell's honesty, competence, and originality with the short-story form, and his unremitting productivity. There are a good many favorites in the collection. The Sunfield and The Mating of Marjorie, both on the theme of women's frustration, should lay the ghost that men cannot write with true understanding of women. The long, fine story Kneel to the Rising Sun closes these more than seventy tales which, without the sweep the novel permits Caldwell, still give an unbeatable picture of American life.

CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE. Edited by Margaret Mead. Mentor. 50 cents.

This book gives in manual form the work of the World Federation for Mental Health. It contains essential material on the field tasks of UNESCO's staff of sociologists as they have operated in such areas as Nigeria, Burma, and New Mexico. For the reader interested in technology's and medicine's battle with ignorance, prejudice, and superstition, as well as in the more positive aspects of the U. N.'s worldwide health campaign, "Cultural Patterns" is basic reading. Its vital content is hampered by a style which is, unfortunately and perhaps inevitably, in the jargon of the trade: the cultural interchange, "feed-back" verbiage of the professional public-health official or social worker.

ALEX RIDER.

The Shape of Death

What does love look like? We know the shape of death:
death is a cloud, immense and awesome.
At first a lid is lifted from the eye of light;
there is a clap of sound; a white blossom
belches from the jaw of fright;
a pillared cloud churns from white to gray,
like a monstrous brain that bursts and burns,
then turns sickly black, spilling and spewing away,
filling the whole sky with ashes of dread.
Thickly it wraps, between the clean seas and the moon,
the earth's green head. Trapped in its cocoon,
its choking breath, we know the shape of death.
Death is a cloud.

What does love look like? Is it a particle, a star,
invisible entirely, beyond the microscope and Palomar;
a dimension unimagined, past the stretch of hope?
Is it a climate far and fair, that we shall never dare
discover? What is its color, and its alchemy?
Is it a jewel in the earth; can it be dug?
or dredged from the sea? Can it be bought?
Can it be sown and harvested? Is it a shy beast to be caught?

Death is a cloud, immense, a clap of sound.
Love is little, and not loud.
It nests within each cell, and it
cannot be split.
It is a ray, a seed, a note, a word,
a secret motion of our air and blood.
It is not alien; it is near;
it is our very skin,
a sheathe that keeps us pure of fear.

MAY SWENSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theater

Harold Clurman

I AM glad Mr. Kirstein saw fit to call our readers' attention to certain aspects of the American Shakespeare Festival Theater's endeavor — the school or academy directed by John Burrell, etc., (*The Nation*: August 20)—which I omitted in my discussion of their first production, "Julius Caesar" (August 6).

Mr. Kirstein's statement is a respectable one, but it overlooks, I am afraid, the point of my argument, and indirectly emphasizes the fault of which I complained. I wrote "I shall not review the production, because what is significant about it is not its badness, but the reason why it was doomed before its first rehearsal was called. The flaws were in thinking and theory — in approach."

My piece was, as noted, not a "review"—if it had been, I should probably have referred to the better performances, those of Christopher Plummer and Fritz Weaver, for example—but an essay on theater esthetics, more particularly as they relate to the production of Shakespeare. I shall reiterate my point, not because there was any ambiguity about it in the first place, but because it involves a conception of theater production in general.

Mr. Kirstein tells us that I am in error in having written that the production "aims to reproduce the Elizabethan picture of Rome as the historians and artists of that period conceived it. Why was this approach chosen?" Mr. Kirstein informs us that the costumes were not Elizabethan: "they strive to fulfill what was in Shakespeare's own eye when he thought of Rome." The armor in the Connecticut production, Mr. Kirstein goes on to say, "was the sort of fanciful parade-armor imagined by Piero della Francesca and Paolo Ucello."

I will not dispute this because, for one thing, Mr. Kirstein is a knowledgeable art critic. But I still ask what has this bit of information to do with the production of "Caesar"? How do we know what was in Shakespeare's eye? We do not attempt to reproduce the acting of Shakespeare's day even though that was certainly in his eye. If we did, we should probably find altogether intolerable any production which tried it—despite anything we may surmise to the contrary from Hamlet's speech to the Players.

The production of a play signifies the projection of the playwright's idea in terms that are intelligible, vivid, and stirring to the audience to whom it is addressed. The purpose of a Shakespearean production today—as of all production—is to convey in theater terms (acting, design, movement, color), the emotional, intellectual, dramatic essence of the play—its body and spirit. What is finally conveyed depends to a great extent on the intention and talent of the actors and their director. My criticism of the Connecticut "Caesar" is not that there was "nothing good in it," but that the approach was basically unrelated to the theater—Shakespeare's or ours—because it was concerned with matters incidental to the problem of any sort of theatrical production.

In Orson Welles's "Caesar" (for all its limitations) the actual brick stage back wall, painted or lit a reddish hue, was seen thoughout. Its use was justified because it was organic to the entire conception of the production, which was inspired by the atmosphere of the thirties. What is crucial in this respect is not what was in Shakespeare's eye, but in ours.

I am perfectly prepared to accept Piero della Francesca or anyone else as a visual model for a Shakespearean play if such a visual style is needed to render its content and impact complete. I may later find fault with the content or declare the style inappropriate, but in the case of the "Caesar" in question I feel that the attempt to produc the play as a theater piece was never truly begun.

This is not a demand for an "experimental" or "revolutionary" production—these words in this connection are almost meaningless—just as the word "straightforward" employed by Mr. Kirstein in connection with his associates' production is meaningless, for the only thing that could be called that at all in rela-

FREE

The magazine that brings you the best of Russian writing

FICTION from the Soviet Union is arousing much interest in many quarters these days. So that you may have an opportunity of reading some for yourself, the publishers of **Soviet Literature** have pleasure in offering you a special FREE copy, for this month only.

If you appreciate the finest and the latest writing from the U.S.S.R.—be it prose or poetry, critique or controversy — the journal for you is **Soviet Literature.**

Each issue includes a section on literature and the arts in other countries, as well as colour plates, profiles of famous Russian authors, and a glance at current drama and music festivals in the U.S.S.R.

In addition, **Soviet Literature** brings you a complete short novel or a selection of short stories every month. It costs 30 cents a copy, post free, or $1.80 for a year's subscription.

You are invited to enjoy this journal at your leisure, by sending 10 cents (postage) to

COLLET'S BOOKSHOP
Dept. A
44 & 45 Museum St.
London, W.C.1., England

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to Shakespeare is a simple reading of the text. As I pointed out in my first piece, the recent Old Vic production of "Henry IV" was in no way original in conception but it had immense vigor and gusto which were sufficient to make it enjoyable.

But perhaps I can make my point even clearer by dropping the Shakespeare issue for a moment. When an Odets writes a play which takes place in the milieu of the boxing business, the director does not necessarily try to mirror that environment naturalistically: he tries to communicate a sense of Odets's feeling in regard to certain basic preoccupations in which the fight ring, gymnasium, and dressing room have only a secondary relation.

The playwright's world (Shakespeare's or anyone else's) is not primarily a historical one, but is the spiritual world of his own psychology, temperament, dramatic style—all of which are revealed by the nature of his writing. The job of the director and his company is to convey that world, according to their own lights, to their own kind of audience. This means that every production must possess its own quality and emphasis, not because anyone wishes to distort the playwright's meaning or "star" himself, but because actors, directors, and audience are human beings who are different in every theatrical circumstance.

The Moscow Art Theatre's production of "Caesar" was wrong because it tried to reproduce the Rome of Caesar's time. But we do not get closer to Shakespeare by reproducing what he literally saw in his day —even if we were sure we knew. Only by creative interpretation, that is, by discovering the stage equivalent for what we feel is Shakespeare's impulse, his total artistic personality, can Shakespeare come alive for us in the theater: We must seek Shakespeare's world in his texts, not in the pictures of his period.

CORRECTION:

In the review of "The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient" and "Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages" in the issue of August 13, the price of each volume was given erroneously as $2.50. The correct price is $8.50 each.

Record Notes

By Robert E. Garis

Bartok: 14 Bagatelles, Op. 6; Roumanian Folk Dances; Roumanian Christmas Carols; Kozma (Bartok); agreeable pieces, fine performances.

"The Wooden Prince"; Susskind with New Symphony Orchestra of London (Bartok); diffuse picturesque music; well played; superbly recorded.

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 1; Serkin with Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia): Serkin trivial and shallow, orchestra heavy.

Piano Concerto No. 4; Curzon with Vienna Philharmonic under Knappertsbusch (London); even, sensitive playing by Curzon without sufficient power where necessary, orchestra stodgy.

Sonatas for piano, Op. 2, Nos. 1 & 2; Gulda (London); fine performances.

Symphony No. 4; Krips with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London): fine performance.

Bizet: Orchestra Suite from "Carmen," "L'Arlesienne" Suite No. 1; Rossi with Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); fair performances.

Brahms: Complete Orchestral Music; Walter with N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); these performances are honorable for their warmth and their solid musical understanding, but lack any higher distinction of clarity and force.

Violin Concerto; Ferras with Vienna Philharmonic under Schuricht (London); fair performance.

Sonatas No. 1 & 2 for clarinet and piano; Lancelot and D'Arco (London-L'Oiseau-Lyre); clarinet poor, piano sensitive and mild; clarinet sound consistently blurred.

Symphony No. 2; Van Beinum with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (Epic); fine performance; sound cold and thin.

Debussy: Fetes Galantes (First Series), Ballades de Villon; Danco with Agosti (London); fine performances.

Prose Lyriques, Chansons de Bilitis, Ballades de Villon; Wend with Gartenlaub (Haydn Society); fine in lighter songs, not powerful enough for Ballades 1 & 2.

Delius: "Appalachia" and Closing Scene from "Koanga"; Beecham with Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus (Columbia); uninterestingly sumptuous music in a fine performance.

Faure: Ballade for piano and orchestra; Long with London Philharmonic under Martinon (London); fair performance. (With 4 Faure Nocturnes and a good performance of Francaix's chic Concertino for Piano and Orchestra.)

Franck: Symphony in D Minor; Furtwangler with Vienna Philharmonic (London); Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); Furtwangler plays superbly, Ormandy very badly, both in a rhetorically inflated style.

Gluck: Overture to "Alceste"; Munchinger with L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande (London); stodgy performance. (With a poor performance of Schumann's "Manfred.")

Handel: "Water Music" complete; Boyd Neel Orchestra (London); good performance.

Haydn: Cello Concerto (original version); Fournier with Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Munchinger (London); elegantly polished performance. (With the fake Boccherini Cello Concerto).

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books

through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to Miss O. LePach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

CRYSTAL LAKE PLAYHOUSE

AUGUST 29 – THE CAUCASIAN CHALK CIRCLE
FEATURING LOLA D'ANNUNCIO

SEPT. 2 – THE SILVER TASSIE

Songs by Nina Dova ● Orchestra, Dance and Concert ● Folk & Square Dancing ● Arts & Crafts for adults ● 9 Professional clay tennis courts, swimming, fishing, boating on private Crystal Lake. 1500 Woodland acres. Free weekend to tennis tournament winner.

CHESTERTOWN 4, New York
Chestertown 3830 ● N. Y. C. OL 3-1884

IN THE ADIRONDACKS
CRYSTAL LAKE
LODGE

Arrowhead
LODGE
Ellenville
New York

SYMPHONY OF THE AIR
MUSIC FESTIVAL AT ELLENVILLE
THEATRE GROUP

Social, Square & Folk Dancing, Tennis, Golf, Fishing, Painting, Arts & Crafts.

European Plan available
Tel: CH2-2453 Ellenville 502

ADULT EDUCATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO invites you, wherever you are, to a life-long investment in self-improvement. Broaden your horizons . . . add to your intellectual skills and fund of knowledge . . . improve your professional competence. Enjoy an absorbing conversation-by-mail with a University instructor in any of 150 courses for adults in Psychology, Creative Writing, Pharmacology, Great Books, Philosophy, Semantics, Human Relations, World Affairs, Art, Literature, History, and other fields. Individual instruction . . . begin at any time . . . study at your convenience, at home. For full information, write for the Home-Study ANNOUNCEMENTS. Box 685, The Home-Study Department, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

ROOMS

STUDENT, male. Room and board; Central Manhattan. Large apartment offered, exchange companionship, mildly orthoped, handicapped student. Box 321, The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, NYC 14.

HOUSES FOR SALE

FOR SALE—8 rooms, new bath; excellent condition. Artesian wells, 4 acres. $7500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PUBLICATIONS

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

PERSONALS

CONTOUR CHAIR—All Aluminum, Saran, Folds Compactly. Reg. $23.95. SPEC. $13.59. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Avenue (13th & 14th Streets) NYC, GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

Letters

Post-Geneva Proposal

Dear Sirs: I trust it will now be recognized both by Congress and the Department of Justice that the Smith Act and the Attorney General's subversive list belong to the "pre-Geneva" era.

At Geneva our President engendered a magnificent spirit of understanding and laid the foundations for genuine coexistence — a spirit which alone holds out hope for our survival, East and West, in a world of nuclear weapons. We cannot be sincere about coexistence and at the same time regard the Russians (equivalent, Communists) as wicked enemies.

Is it not clear then that we flagrantly violate that spirit of understanding every time we prosecute people for words—not deeds — under the Smith Act or deprive anyone of his job for having been a member of an organization on the subversive list?

We must rethink our domestic as well as our foreign policy.

ALBERT TURNER

Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

A Reader Since 1897

Dear Sirs: Shortly after arriving in the United States in 1897 I found the Evening Post and The Nation to be the papers that suited my tastes best. For several years I bought both at the newsstand, but later became and since remained a regular subscriber to The Nation.

I am pleased to note in your Special Supplement of July 9 the many expressions of interest by prominent readers, and heartily join them in their tributes and good wishes, so as to show that also among the lowly and unknown the great qualities of your weekly are properly appraised.

A. VAN OSS

Plainfield, N. J.

Author's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: It is seldom, I suppose, that a writer finds himself reading a review of his book which, on many points, criticizes him for not writing the very book he has written. I allude to Jacob Korg's account of my recently published volume, "The Psychological Novel, 1900-1950," in The Nation of July 16, in which he accuses me of a whole series of omissions—which simply were not omitted—as well as acts of commission I didn't commit.

In essence, my book discusses the "inward-turning" in the novel since 1900. I show the difference between the "inwardness" of Dostoievsky, or Shakespeare's soliloquies, or introspective passages in the old novels, and the aims of the so-called "stream of consciousness" writers of our time. I suggest the contemporary movement has taken two forms: one led from Bergson, the French Symbolists, Dujardin, to Proust—and to Joyce and his attempt to give the illusion of the actual flow of thought in the minds of the characters. The other began with the "point of view" techniques of Henry James, which inspired Dorothy Richardson and resulted in the modern forms of "internal monologue." And I devote an entire chapter to explaining that this "monologue" differs from "stream of consciousness" in being an edited and filtered portrayal of the "center of thought," with the flotsam and jetsam of the "stream" left out.

Mr. Korg, however, accuses me of failure to distinguish between "internal monologue" and "stream of consciousness" and also of seeking to convey the impression that "the founder of the new technique was Henry James." And he imputes to me a series of conclusions on the autobiographical character of this type of fiction which are not mine, while adopting my conclusions as his own. Moreover, he attributes to me reflections such as that symbolism is "arty" and that psychological fiction is a form of "homely naturalism"—perish the thought!

As a reviewer of books myself, I am the last person to argue with reviewers of my own books. But it seems to me that there is such a wide difference between the book I've written and the one Mr. Korg seems to have read that I feel obligated to make your readers aware of this difference.

LEON EDEL

Honolulu, Hawaii

No "Alibi for Crawling"

Dear Sirs: Professor Loomer's review of William A. Reuben's "The Atom Spy Hoax," which appeared in your May 28th issue, was an excellent piece of analytical writing. I wish to salute both Professor Loomer and The Nation for having the courage to speak the truth at a time when cowards and sycophants find so many ingenious alibis for crawling.

MORRIS KOMINSKY

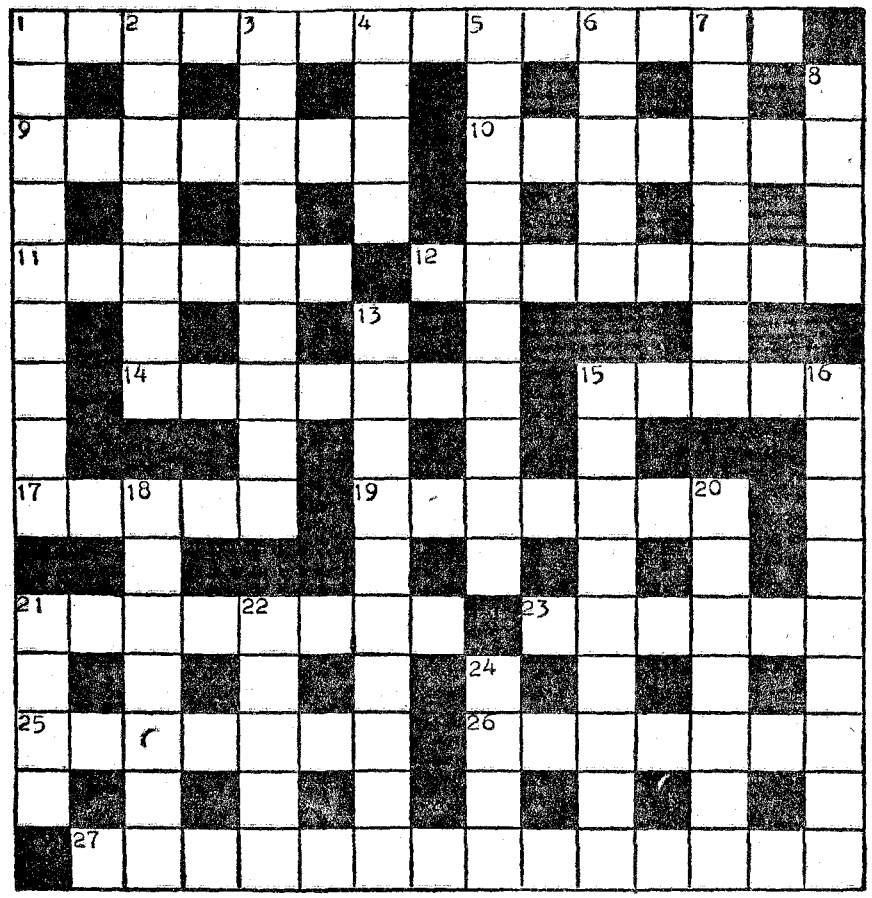
Los Angeles, Calif.

BUY
U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 634

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The things of Ben which were slithy (8,6)

9 Comes down to pay the bets. (7)

10 Bill, perhaps, has a unique position. (3-4)

11 SA, SA, SA (6)

12 Concluded with a red nose. (8)

14 Irritate, and make certain it's about all right. (7)

15 She will have something to listen to on shore. (5)

17 and 19 Tellers (5,7)

21 How to tie up things for other people. (4-4)

23 The spirit of a religious man, in a way. (6)

25 It's still fun to, even though not so blessed. (7)

26 Weathered (like a cowboy). (7)

27 Is the correct article expensive in Old Nelly? (6,3,5)

DOWN

1 Snaps, perhaps. (9)

2 Pre-prandial? (Gets in 10 without one's being there.) (5,2)

3 Game where the Irish might be in the swim? (5,4)

4 and 21 down Announcing one's in the pink! (3,1,4)

5 He gets none in England. (10)

6 Starts a little work to type. (5)

7 Some travelers try and get rich on this account. (7)

8 This like everything else, will turn to dust. (4)

13 A sort of clean foreign title around makes for easy-going. (10)

15 In the money? Win out, and get them disordered. (9)

16 The time the weaker ones come and say "Al died!" (6,3)

18 Stars and bars are his extreme symbols. (7)

20 But he probably makes others hop on board! (7)

21 See 4 down.

22 One way to dehydrate. (5)

24 How a Swede might start to look. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 633

ACROSS: 1 CARPENTER SHOPS; 8 UNIVERSALIST; 10 TERRY CLOTH; 11 AWED; 13 REALY; 14 PETRILLO; 16 ARCTURUS; 17 STROLL; 19 AIRS; 20 ALLEVIATED; 23 EVENING DRESSES. DOWN: 1 COUNTERBALANCE; 2 RAILROAD CARS; 3, 6 and 22 EVERY CLOUD HAS A SILVER LINING; 4 TUSSLE; 5 RELETTER; 7 HARD-BOILED EGS; 9 SWALLOWTAILS; 12 FRATICIDE; 15 SULLIVAN; 18 SEARED; 21 LION.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

Echo Lake Lodge

In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont

A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family

- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Cabins with priv. showers. $50 to $60.

Phone HUBBARDTON, CR-3-2501

BUILT ON THE SIDE OF A MOUNTAIN

the WOODLANDS

PHOENICIA, N. Y. Extraordinarily scenic. Fine book and record collection for the lazybones; sparkling swimming pool and fast tennis courts for the spirited. Also, theatre workshop, folk and square dancing art and ceramic classes, fine food and accommodations. $50 up Tel. Phoenicia 8148

Stonegate LODGE

ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.

Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90
Concert Trio — Dance Band — Arts & Crafts
DAVID HAHN, Folk-Sq. Dance Leader
Golf • All Sports • Fishing
HAY FEVER FREE AREA
Bachelor Club Rate—Fine Food
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • Circle 6-6386
Louis A. Roth, Director

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball Ping-pong, other sports. Movies, records, books Summer Theatre nearby Food of excellent quality in generous quantity
$50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
Weekend: Fri. Supper through Sun. Dinner $15
65 Miles from New York City
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 1232

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality Two grand lakes All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

HOUSE FOR SALE

NORWALK, CONN. Contemporary house, 2 years old. On wooded ½ acre in unusual inter-racial community on Long Island Sound. Private beach, boat basin. Ideal for children. Large terrace, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, fireplace, most modern kitchen, full basement, garage. Reduced to $22,800. Box 405, c/o The Nation or phone: (Norwalk) Temple. 8-2046.

Attention Please

Train leaving on Track 31 for

• • •

Are they calling out the location of your resort?

Those vacationers are heading for rest and fun.

Do they know what good times they can have at your place?

Tell them about it through the resort advertising pages.

$7.42 per inch, per insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

333 SIXTH AVE., NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

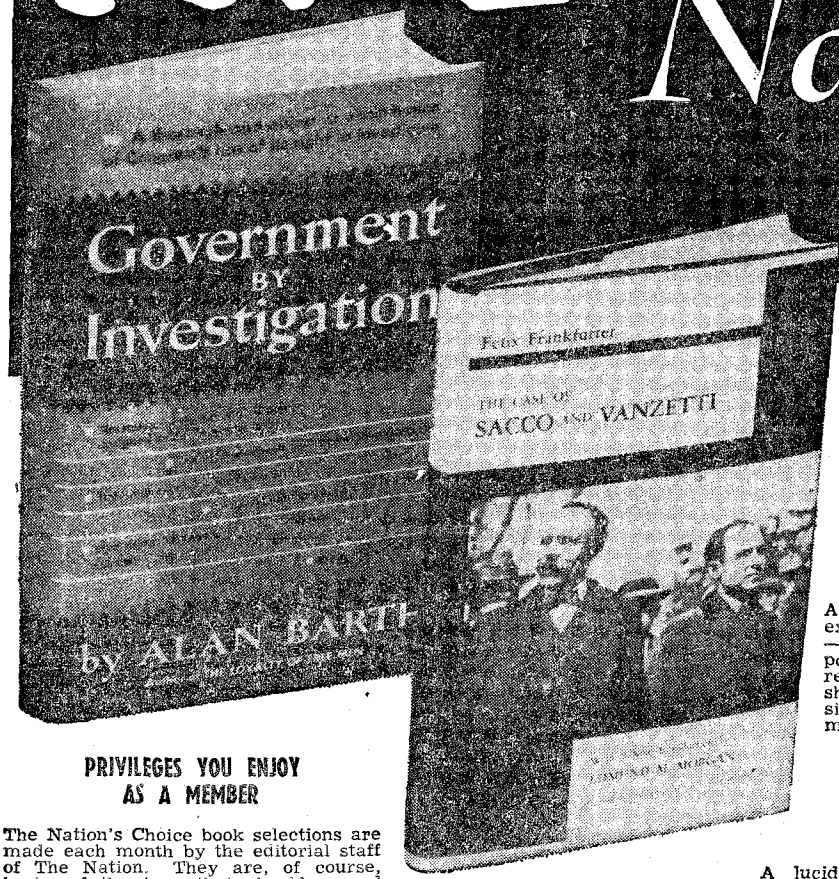
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc. P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE

THESE 2 OUTSTANDING BOOKS if you now join the Nation's Choice



GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION

by Alan Barth

A thorough and objective appraisal of Congressional investigations, past and present. Mr. Barth sets forth the legitimate uses of the investigative power, its dangers and abuses, but also suggests practical remedies to safeguard our democratic traditions. Timely and important, this book is a plea for sanity in a troubled age and an urgent warning against Congressional dominance.

THE CASE OF SACCO AND VANZETTI

by Felix Frankfurter

A famous jurist's study of the most shameful example of injustice in the annals of American —a trial that shocked the entire world. Exposing a great tragedy that has special relevance to our day, Felix Frankfurter clearly shows the havoc that misguided popular passions can wreak on the lives and liberties of men.

Combined Retail Price $6.00
FREE to New Members

PRIVILEGES YOU ENJOY AS A MEMBER

The Nation's Choice book selections are made each month by the editorial staff of The Nation. They are, of course, books of the type that should appeal strongly to readers of The Nation.

As a member you will be privileged to receive each month's selection at the special members' reduced price, representing savings of as much as 40% and in current cases even more. But you will NOT be obligated to take the current selection every month. In fact, you may accept as few as four books a year and still retain all the benefits of membership. For each four additional books you accept you will receive a valuable Bonus Book FREE.

You will receive FREE each month the Club's bulletin, The Nation's Choice, which describes the coming month's selection and other books in the same category. If you do not wish to receive the next month's selection, you simply return a form which is always provided. You take only the books you want, pay only the members' reduced price, plus a small fixed mailing charge, after receiving them. You enroll for no fixed term; may cancel your membership at any time after accepting as few as four selections.

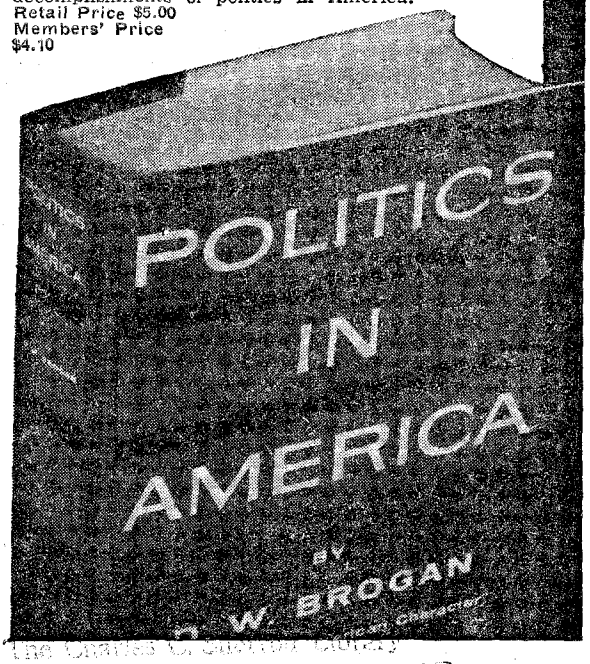
By joining now, you receive the THREE fine books shown on this page. TWO of these books will be yours FREE, as a membership gift. The third will be your first selection, for which you will be billed only $4.10 plus a nominal charge for postage and packing The coupon below makes you a member. You need send no money. Clip and mail it today. The Nation's Choice, 11 East 36th St., Dept. 4101, New York 16, N. Y.

START YOUR MEMBERSHIP WITH POLITICS IN AMERICA

by D. W. Brogan

A lucid analysis of American politics—at their racket-ridden worst and at their unique and inspiring best—from Jefferson's time to our own day. Described as a "combination of Tocqueville and Lord Bryce," D. W Brogan brings to his study a wealth of inside knowledge, an acute eye for human frailty, and a shrewd sense of humor. His picture of the United States as a political nation is remarkable not only for its extraordinary range and comprehension, but for the wisdom with which he treats the follies and pitfalls as well as the impressive accomplishments of politics in America.

Retail Price $5.00
Members' Price
$4.10



This coupon makes you a member

The NATION'S CHOICE, Inc. • Dept. 4101
11 East 36th Street • New York 16, N. Y.
Please enroll me as a member and send me Government by Investigation and Sacco and Vanzetti FREE, as a membership GIFT. As my first selection send me Politics in America at $4.10 plus a nominal charge for postage and handling. I am to receive the Club's bulletin The Nation's Choice, FREE each month. For each four additional books I accept, I am to receive a valuable Bonus Book FREE My only obligation as a member is to accept as few as four selections the first year, paying only the special members' reduced price, plus 30c for mailing

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED